The History Teacher's Magazine

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You can co-operate with your local historical society or library in the collection and preservation of local material bearing upon the war, giving especial attention to such fugitive material as posters, propaganda, pictures, circulars, etc.

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The Committee on Patriotism through Education of the National Security League, 31 Pine Street, New York City.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
National Committee of Patriotic and Defense Societies, Southern Building, Washington, D. C.
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Bobbie and The War[1]

BY BOBBIE'S FATHER.

Bobbie is just an ordinary American boy. He is nearly fourteen and is about ready to enter high school. In scholarship he is below rather than above the average; but he is usually interested in his lessons, and his father is not worrying about his ability to make good. He enjoys sports, games and outdoor life, and like all true boys he loves to tinker with tools. He has shown an unusual affection for animals and will make a pet of anything from an antiquated hen to a tadpole.

Perhaps it was his sensitiveness to the suffering of animals which led us to avoid talking about the Great War when he was near. Perhaps it was because we felt, like most American parents, that the War was monstrous, insensate, something too horrible to bring into the consciousness of a happy whole-souled boy of fourteen. We were thankful that a regulation of the local board of education forbade the discussion of the War in school rooms. And we tried to keep away from him the more terrible of the pictures which soon filled the illustrated papers.

But in the two years of warfare he has grown to take an interest in things. At times he read the daily newspapers and looked through the illustrated weeklies. He became interested in the War in spite of us and occasionally dropped a remark which showed he was forming opinions upon it. He shared his spending money with the Belgians whenever the family took up a collection from the children's banks and the parents' bank accounts for relief work.

And then like every normal American child he asked questions about the War. At first we put him off with those general colorless and neutral answers which parents are so skilled in framing. But we found that he was getting false notions of the War from other sources. We reached the conclusion that if we did not furnish the truth he might never get it. And thus we set about answering carefully some of his questions. Six of these questions and answers are here given. They are arranged in a logical order rather than in the haphazard conversation of family life.

WHY IS THE WAR?

"Well, Daddy, what made this War come anyhow?" he asked.

There are two very different sets of causes of the present War, and indeed of any great happening in history. The one set of causes is like the spark that falls among gunpowder and makes a great explosion; the other set of causes explains how the gunpowder came to be where it was, and how the spark came to fall upon the gunpowder.

The spark which set off the present terrible explosion in Europe was a little incident which took place in southeastern Europe. In the region between Vienna and Constantinople, which you can easily find on the map, there exist a score or more of different peoples. Each of these has its own language, its own dress, and its own habits of living. These peoples are included in a few great governments—Austro-Hungary, Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria and Turkey—with several smaller ones. During the year 1912 several of these countries tried to obtain the lands of the non-Christian Turks, and after they defeated the Turks, the victors started to quarrel among themselves about the division of the lands. This gave the Turks an opportunity to get back part of their territory. During this time some of the less important peoples under the rule of Austro-Hungary also conspired to obtain their independence. On June 28, 1914, an Austrian prince, the heir to the throne, was murdered in Serajevo, in a country much dissatisfied with Austrian government. An investigation by Austrians showed to their satisfaction that the murder had been planned in the neighboring country of Servia.

Austria immediately made demands upon Servia which, if accepted, would have destroyed the independence of Servia and have tended to make it a province of Austria. The demands were accompanied with a threat that if not accepted in forty-eight hours, Austria would invade Servia. When this threat became known in Russia, the latter country took steps to protect Servia. Germany backed up Austria. England tried to get all parties to demobilize their armies and submit the Servian question to a council of all the great nations. This Germany and Austria refused to do and on August 1, 1914, war was declared by Germany against Russia. This at once brought France into the war as Russia's ally, and a few days later England entered on account of the German invasion of Belgium. Thus the murder of the Austrian prince was the spark which set on fire the vast European powder magazine.

But you ask why was Europe so combustible that a single murder would set it all afire? Who laid the gunpowder in a place where the spark would reach

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it? To understand this, Bobbie, you would have to study carefully the history of Europe for the past hundred years. But there are a few things which you can understand.

1. Years ago Germany adopted a system of universal military service which created a great standing army. This made the other countries so afraid of her that for protection they were compelled to maintain similar armies. Thus all of Europe, except England, became a kind of military camp; military leaders, particularly in Germany, directed the activities of the nations, and often prevented the people from governing themselves. This system, which is called militarism, is the thing which President Wilson says must be destroyed if all nations are to be free.

2. Germany, like England and the United States, has grown enormously in wealth, manufactures and commerce in the last forty years. She secured a large part of the trade of the world, and her ships—some of the largest ever built—were found in all the great harbors of the world. But Germany was not content with this peaceful trade; she desired foreign colonies and a great navy like that of England; she longed for coaling stations in all seas. If it had not been for the United States she might have obtained the Philippines in 1898; but for the United States she, with the other European states, would have brought about the partition of China in 1901; and but for the Monroe Doctrine she would have established colonies in the West Indies and South America. As it was she secured islands in the Pacific, in the East Indies and large tracts of land in Africa. With the consent of Turkey she started to build a railroad from Constantinople to Bagdad. During this expansion if Germany did not get what she wished she would show the "mailed fist" of her great army and rattle the sword in the scabbard. She would insult others as the German Admiral insulted Dewey in Manila harbor. Europe was in a state of unrest because Germany would not consent to reduce the size of her army nor cease building up a navy. Thus England felt compelled to build more ships; France must add another year of military service to every man's life; Austria, Russia and Italy joined in the race, and tried to keep up the pace set by the leaders.

3. During this period of armed peace the six great nations of Europe fell apart into two groups of three each. Germany, Austria and Italy made what was called the "Triple Alliance"; while England, France and Russia constituted the "Triple Entente" (the word entente is a French word meaning an understanding or agreement). The two groups stood and glared at each other like two gangs of toughs, each daring the other to do its worst. Sooner or later something would be said or done which would bring on a fight between the two groups. But note that when the Great War did break out, Italy left the Triple Alliance and joined the other group, which we now call "the Allies."

4. There were many other things which led the European nations to be jealous of one another. France wanted to get back provinces which Germany had taken from her in 1870. Russia wanted to get Constantinople so that her wheat and oil could safely be exported. Germany wanted to control Constantinople and a railroad to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, thus securing a share in the trade with India and China ports; Austria wished to annex some of the petty states to the southeast, and Italy hoped to annex territory near her borders inhabited by men of the Italian race.

You will see, therefore, Bobbie, that it was not the murder of a prince which really caused this War. It was the existence of a class of military men who controlled the governments of some of the powers; who refused to let the people decide great questions, and who hoped to use armies and navies to obtain more lands by conquest.

WHY ARE WE IN THE WAR?

"Yes, Dad, I understand now how the War happened in Europe. But why did we go into it? We studied in school that Washington, Jefferson and Monroe advised the United States to keep out of European affairs. What has made us take up arms against Germany?"

In the first place, Bobbie, you must remember that the American government is based upon the right of the people to govern themselves. Lincoln said we possessed "government *of* the people, *for* the people, and *by* the people." We believe that all people of all countries ought to have this right. And we are willing to help them obtain this greatest of all rights. Some people have said the American nation pays too much attention to making money and that it worships the "almighty dollar." But this is not true to-day and probably never has been true of our nation as a whole. Nearly a hundred years ago we sympathized with the people of Central and South America in their rebellion against Spain, and protected them by the Monroe Doctrine after they had obtained independence.

In the last twenty years particularly the American nation has played the part of a "big brother" to many other peoples. In 1895 we protected Venezuela against the aggression of England. In 1898 we fought a war for the independence of Cuba and we have since aided in supporting an orderly self-government in the island. In 1898 we secured possession of the Philippines, and we have governed them since in the interests of the inhabitants, and have instructed them in the work of government so that some day they may become an independent nation. In 1901 we helped to prevent the European nations from dividing up China. Our share of the indemnity exacted from China has been used to educate Chinese students in American universities. We have earnestly supported the new republic in that country. From 1912 to the present time we have tried to encourage the Mexicans to establish a people's government. American lives have been lost and millions of dollars' worth of American property destroyed in Mexico in this period during their civil wars. But we have not desired to con-

quer the country; we want them to establish a government which will bring liberty to all Mexicans and protection for all foreigners. In 1915 we opened the Panama Canal to the commerce of the whole world, not claiming for American vessels any advantages over foreign vessels, although our government furnished all the $250,000,000 necessary to build the canal. If you will remember these things you will understand how the United States stands to-day not only as the wealthiest country in the world, not only as the most democratic of great powers, but also as the friend of the oppressed and the willing helper of peoples striving for the same kind of liberty.

But now to return to our entrance into this War. When the War started in August, 1914, most Americans were willing to follow the old advice of Washington, Jefferson and Monroe. They thought the War was Europe's business, not ours, and that we should keep out of the whole affair. But as the months of warfare dragged on and as unlawful acts and inhumane forms of warfare were used more and more by the Germans, the American people, gradually realized that the War was an attack upon the rights of all liberty-loving peoples. The German military system (not the German people, but their Kaiser, their rulers and their military men) was seen to be a danger to all free governments. England, France, Russia, Italy, Servia, Belgium, Japan, Roumania, even little Portugal, were straining every nerve, sacrificing their ablest men, in the cause of human freedom. Should the United States enjoy the benefits when victory came to the Allies, and not raise a hand to help them in their life and death struggle? All the history of the last twenty years showed that it was the duty of the United States to leave its old narrow American policy and join the Allies in their efforts to destroy the evils of German militarism.

You should note, Bobbie, and remember some of the acts of the Germans which led the American people at last to believe that this militarism must be crushed:

1. The Germans invaded Belgium in order to advance upon France in a place where the French were not expecting attack. Germany did this despite the fact that she had solemnly promised to respect Belgium's lands. She violated "Belgium's neutrality" and treated her own promise as a "scrap of paper."

2. The Germans occupied Belgium and northeastern France, and established a merciless government over the inhabitants. Atrocities of many kinds were inflicted upon the people; food supplies and cattle were taken away and the people would have starved by hundreds of thousands if energetic Americans and others had not collected money and supplies from various nations and dispensed them to the people under the eyes of the German military officers. Able-bodied men and women were dragged from their children and parents and sent to Germany to work almost as slaves for their conquerors. The world cannot soon forget the horrors of this military rule in Belgium.

3. The *Lusitania*, an unarmed passenger steamer, was torpedoed by a submarine without warning on May 7, 1915, and eleven hundred and thirty-four men, women and children passengers and members of the crew lost their lives, of whom over one hundred were American citizens.

4. Unarmed merchant vessels of the United States and of other neutrals were torpedoed without warning, and many innocent persons, in no way connected with the War, were killed in violation of international law and of the common principles of humanity.

5. Germany issued an order to be effective February 1, 1917, that any vessel of any nationality found by her submarines within hundreds of miles of the European coast should be sunk without warning.

6. She bombarded defenceless towns in England and France with warships and with Zeppelins, injuring mainly women and children.

7. She organized bomb plots in the United States against American factories, and tried to involve us in war with Mexico and Japan.

8. In general she tried to make her methods of warfare so terrible that her enemies would be frightened into submission. This is what the Germans call the policy of *Schrecklichkeit* (frightfulness).

These are horrible things to tell to a boy of your age, Bobbie, and we would not tell you about them were it not that you must understand how boys and girls in Europe and on peaceful vessels on the sea have been treated by this German war machine. You must not begin to hate the German people; and particularly you must treat respectfully and kindly the hundreds of thousands of law-abiding persons in this country who are of German birth or descent. We do not make war on the German people, but upon those military rulers who have threatened to destroy all that other persons love and cherish. Out of pity for these oppressed peoples and out of fear for our own liberties we must unite with the other nations to stop this reign of lawlessness.

A DIFFERENT WAR FROM ALL OTHERS?

"I wish I knew what the newspapers mean by saying this War is different from other ones. To-day there are guns and cannons and battles as in our Civil War. Is it really different?"

Yes, Bobbie, looked at simply as warfare, this War is different from all that have preceded it. It is different in its world-wide extent. It has spread from Europe to the interior of Africa, to the Samoan Islands in the Pacific, to Bagdad, the city of the Arabian Nights, and to the American continents. No war in history was ever carried on over such a vast territory.

It is different, too, in the number of people engaged. The total population of the countries now engaged in the war is almost one thousand million persons. The armies in the field in Europe to-day, numbering their millions of soldiers, are as numerous as the entire population of Europe a few centuries ago. The world never saw such armies, and indeed never before these days could such armies have been fed and equipped.

It is very different, too, in the mode of warfare. All the great inventions of modern times have been turned into weapons of war. The powers of electricity and steam, of the automobile and aeroplane, of the steamship and the submarine, have been taken from peaceful pursuits for the killing of men. Science has discovered new and more powerful explosives, it has furnished suffocating gases and terrifying liquid fire. Great guns, with a range of twenty miles and firing projectiles weighing almost a ton, have been prepared. Armored automobiles—"tanks"—have been created. It is a war in which all these wonderful and useful inventions have become engines of destruction.

It is different because of the prominence of trench warfare. Old battles were fought in the open with great masses of men. To-day armies dig long defiles in the ground, with caves and alcoves and galleries like those in a mine. Every point is protected by machine guns which spit out a continuous line of bullets. For a long time it was almost impossible to reduce such trenches, but the Allies have found that by the use of enormously heavy guns and the expenditure of vast amounts of ammunition they can be rendered untenable.

It is different in the use of aeroplanes. These are used not only for bombing expeditions, but also to photograph the enemy's trenches and to determine where the great guns, five or six or ten miles in the rear, shall direct their fire. Without the aeroplane the great gun would be almost useless against the trenches.

It is different in its use of the submarine. This has changed the character of naval fighting. A battleship while not underway can protect itself against submarines, but vessels plying the high seas, and particularly cargo and passenger vessels, cannot surround themselves with nets to catch torpedoes and at the same time proceed to their destination. They must take their chances and trust that a fleet of small submarine chasers will put most of the submarines out of business. In the hands of a ruthless enemy the submarine is a dangerous weapon. It can best be outwitted by small cargo boats such as those now being built by the United States Government.

It is different in the enormous expenditures of money. The estimated expenses of all the warring nations for the first two years of the War were about fifty billions of dollars. The War expenditure for each day during this period was seventy-three millions, or enough to support the entire school system of Philadelphia for six years.

But after all the War differs most in the elaborate manufacture of munitions and implements of war. In all the countries, back of the area of warfare, blast furnaces, steel plants, ship yards and equipment factories are working night and day to furnish materials for the armies and navies. All the great modern industrial plants have been turned over into munition and equipment factories. Able-bodied men are used where absolutely necessary, but the greater number of workers are old men, women and children. These are the ones who are preparing ammunition, clothing and equipment for their fathers and husbands on the firing line.

It is indeed a fearful thing to contemplate this highly efficient national organization existing throughout Europe, with entire nations devoting their best thought and their greatest energy to producing weapons of destruction. We can only reconcile ourselves to the fact, Bobbie, by believing that this will never have to be done again. The destruction of militarism will be followed by the disarming of the great nations and by their return to lives of peace, comfort, charity and uprightness. For this we shall all hope and pray and work.

WHAT IS PATRIOTISM?

"Our school teacher to-day asked us to define patriotism. We all said it meant love of country. Is that all there is to it, Daddy?"

Yes, Bobbie, patriotism is love of one's country. It is a strong personal attachment which is as natural as to love one's mother. Nearly everyone shows this love for the country of his birth or adoption, and the very few who do not are abhorred as traitors, to be classed with persons who have no love or respect for their parents. But be sure of this, Bobbie, that love of one's country is not simply to love a particular part of the surface of the earth. You remember our old cat, Tabby, don't you? And how when the family moved to a neighboring house she would not go with us, but persisted in staying about the old place? True patriotism is not like that stupid place attachment of a cat or a hen. Nor is true patriotism simply a reverence for the nation's flag and a respect for the national anthem, although every patriot will show such reverence and respect. True patriotism includes love of place and love of the nation's emblems, but it includes far more than this. Its real essence is love and respect and appreciation for the nation's fundamental principles and ideals—the things which the American flag stands for. I mean, Bobbie, the great liberties which you and I possess in this country and which we would like to see all peoples possess.

Among these liberties which we love as real American patriots, may be mentioned the right to self-government, the right to elect our own governors, the right to impartial justice in the courts, the right to a good education, the right to a fair opportunity to earn a decent livelihood, the right to protection from dangerous occupations, the right to protection from unscrupulous persons who would monopolize the necessities of life. These are some of the rights which, as American citizens, we enjoy, and because of them we love our country, its institutions and ideals.

But remember this, Bobbie, that anyone who accepts these American rights and tries to live up to these American ideals, is a poor patriot indeed if he is content to enjoy these things alone. He is not a true American or a true patriot unless he is anxious and willing to share these great liberties with other peoples. It is because we wanted others to enjoy similar liberties that we have protected South and Central American republics, that we freed Cuba, that

we established a representative government in the Philippines, and that we have entered this present War.

You can readily understand, Bobbie, that love of one's country is something which drives us into action, it compels us to do things for the good of our country and the furtherance of its principles. You may never know or appreciate all that your parents have done out of love for you; but you do realize that they are daily working to satisfy your needs for food, clothing, education and physical and moral well-being. You know, too, that your own love for parents and brothers and sisters leads you to many acts of kindness and helpfulness in the family.

It is much the same with the true lover of country. His patriotism will show itself continuously in honesty in the payment of taxes, in intelligence in the election of able officers, in serving on juries, in refusing to monopolize necessities of life, and even in such simple matters as promptly cleaning snow off the sidewalk.

In times of crisis patriotism may lead citizens to make great sacrifices. Your mother, Bobbie, risked her health and perhaps life, in nursing you during that serious illness last year. So when the nation needs help and assistance all citizens obey the call of duty, even, if necessary, giving life itself in order to preserve and protect the life and principles and independence of the country. I want to read you a few sentences from a book written by an Englishman for English boys and girls. Its statements apply with equal force to an American boy like yourself.

"In all your study of the War, make this your first and foremost thought, that the War is for you. It is you who will enjoy the new order of things when the War is done. Your countrymen are giving their lives for their country; it is your country, and in it you will pass your life. Our dead have died for you. . . . It is you who will find this world better than they found it. You will live in peace, because they died in war; you will go safe and free, because they went under discipline and into danger up to the moment of their death. You will have a good time, because they suffered. To you, who gain by their loss, and whose life is made comfortable by their lives laid down, comes the question, from countless little wooden crosses over graves in France and Belgium and Gallipoli, and from all the unmarked graves of the sea. *Is it nothing to you?* Why, the War is your War. You will enter into all that it achieves, and inherit all that it earns; and the miseries of it will be the making of your happiness. There are many good reasons why a man should fight for his country, but they come to this one reason, that he is fighting for the future of his country. And you are the future. We older people so soon will be gone; you will stay here, you for whom your countrymen today are in the toils of this War. You are the future, we are the past. We have lived in a world which you never saw, and you will live in a world which we shall never see."

President Wilson, too, in his proclamation of April 15, 1917, showed how every part of our population should do something to support the Government in the present emergency. The army and navy must be built up and made efficient; abundant food must be supplied not only for ourselves, but for the other nations in the common cause; shipyards, mines and factories must be made more productive; farmers should help by raising larger crops; middle men ought to show their patriotism by not asking unreasonable profits; railway men should make their systems more effective; miners and manufacturers should appreciate how indispensable is their help, and housewives should practice economy. "The supreme test of the nation has come. We must all speak, act and serve together."

WHAT CAN I DO?

"Daddy, when I see these men enlisting,—maybe they will be killed in battle,—I am ashamed of myself for not doing anything for my country. Isn't there something I can do?"

Yes, indeed, there is much that you as a boy of fourteen can do for our country. In the first place you must make yourself understand fully what our English friend has told us so well, that this War is being fought by the United States and the Allies for the rights of the boys and girls of these countries. Keep always before you the thought that the blood of these soldiers, the struggles of these armies, the endless workings of munitions factories and the spending of untold millions of dollars are being used for the protection of your life and happiness. If you always keep this idea in mind you will find much to do for the country.

You will, I am sure, Bobbie, appreciate how necessary it is that every American boy and girl make the very best of himself. It would be pitiful indeed, if, after all this bloodshed and suffering, you, the future citizens, should be weak in body, or ignorant in mind, or vicious in morals and religion. Your first and greatest duty to-day is to take all the advantages offered in the school, the home and the church, to make of yourself a strong, intelligent and honest citizen. Do not weaken your body by smoking cigarettes, or by doing anything else which will injure your health. Do not neglect your studies, for without intelligent citizens there can be no true democracy. Do not acquire bad habits or use vile language, for these will prevent your becoming a useful citizen. Eat good, plain, wholesome food, take plenty of exercise either in games or in farm labor if you are strong enough, get plenty of sleep and be regular and punctual in your habits and school work. This is your greatest duty to-day.

Besides these things, Bobbie, you may, if you are strong enough, help your country in other ways. There is a great need of help in domestic life and upon farms and in factories. You are too young to do a man's part, and you must not weaken your body by undertaking too severe tasks. But you can help mother in the house, you can look after a small vegetable garden, or you can raise some chickens or pigs. If you help in this way about the home, the garden

or the farm, you will give your parents and elder brothers and sisters more time and strength to do their heavier work for the country. When you read the morning papers and note what terrible sacrifices have been made for you, resolve that you will do something during the day to partly pay back the debt you owe these brave men and women. And if you look at the evening papers to see what progress has been made in the War, ask yourself the question, What have I done this day to help the great cause?

You can show your patriotism, too, by avoiding all kinds of waste. Boys, and girls, too, are likely to be reckless and careless in the use of tools, household utensils, games, foods and clothing. If you are tempted to such carelessness and waste, just consider how many thousands of boys and girls in Europe have insufficient food and clothing, and remember that their parents have no money to buy games, tools and household goods. What you waste would probably keep some starving Belgian boy in sound health, protected from the cold and happy in disposition. Be careful, therefore, of your food, clothing and belongings. Just to the extent that you avoid needless waste will your parents and your country be enabled to help the other nations which are fighting for the same cause as ourselves.

When you are old enough and strong enough, Bobbie, you should join some of the organizations of boys and girls for patriotic work. It is often easier and pleasanter for anyone to work with a group of congenial patriots than to try to do everything by himself. There are many such organizations for junior citizens; sewing clubs, planting clubs, Boy Scouts, boys' clubs, Camp Fire Girls and junior associations in connection with patriotic, charitable and religious organizations. When your parents think you are able to do so it will be a good thing to join such bodies.

THE LAST WAR?

"Will this be the last War, Daddy? And how will quarrels be settled after the War is over?"

Ah, Bobbie, those are questions which all the older and wiser heads are asking. Literally millions of people throughout this war-devastated world are hoping and praying every minute of the day and long into the sleepless night, that God and man will never permit such awful scenes to occur again. The greatest minds of the world are now trying to devise plans by which nations shall be freed from the terrors of militarism.

When the military rule of Germany is overthrown, there will be, we believe, a world league of free, self-governing communities. Each will have its own national government based upon the will of the people, and all, we hope, will join in a league of republics to preserve the peace of the world. The commerce of the world will be free to all. When quarrels and controversies arise between nations, as they must at times, they will be settled by submission to a court of arbitration, in which the nations not involved in the quarrel will be the jurors, as in your games, Bobbie, you submit disputed points to the umpire. This is the hope of the American people. And this is something which you, as an American citizen, must strive earnestly and loyally to bring about. The world is looking to the United States to take the lead in the abolition of war. You must see that this ideal is preserved after it has been secured when this contest is over.

As President Wilson said in his speech to Congress, on April 2, 1917, "We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes."

Statesmen, business men, labor leaders, army generals and all thinking men are now actively engaged in trying to secure such a permanent peace for all the world.

You, Bobbie, your brothers and sisters, your boy and girl friends, and all the unknown boys and girls in all the countries engaged in this war will live to enjoy the happiness and comfort of this universal peace. For you, boys and girls, we elders have fought and suffered and conquered.

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The Great War: From Spectator to Participant

BY PROFESSOR ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

When the war broke out in 1914 everyone in America was astonished, and almost everyone was quite unable to understand the fundamental causes of it. Many of us were more than astonished; we were thoroughly out of patience and without immediate and deep sympathies for either side in the struggle. America had lived in isolation. Though our government had been to some extent drawn into the swirl of world politics, we had no deep laid scheme for exploitation of inferior races, no colonial ambitions, no determination to force our products on other nations, and no fear of neighboring governments. We did not know that we were being jealously watched and that spies recorded our temper and our frailties. We did not see that we had anything to do with a European war. Of the ever vexed Balkans we knew little or nothing, though we had heard of the "sick man of Europe," who seemed to be an unconscionable time in shuffling off this mortal coil. We had read of Hague conferences and peace societies and peace palaces, and believed that war was too absurd to be really possible between the nations of Western Europe.

With the invasion of Belgium we began to rub our eyes. We found that a region which had been known as the "cockpit" of Europe was once more to be beaten down by the tramp of alien armies. And then came the stories of atrocities in Belgium. At first we read with doubt, and only after the publication of the "Bryce Report" with the supporting documents did we see the realities and believe the unbelievable. We discovered what militarism meant in its final qualities, militarism which included devastation and horrors as portions of military policy. Belgium settled our sympathies, for, we saw that the whole thing was premeditated; we realized that methods of mobilization, not to speak of strategic railroads, are not mapped out in a moment. Machtpolitik was shattered when it shocked the conscience of the world. John Bright, I believe it was, said that the only value of war is to teach geography; but this war has taught language; everybody knows what *Schrecklichkeit* means, and everybody knows too that it is involved in the philosophy of war when it is carried out with relentless thoroughness and with absolute disregard of the ordinary promptings of humanity.

The attempts of German propagandists, to justify the invasion, showed an astonishing inability or unwillingness to make frank use of public documentary material. Documents found in the Belgium archives showed that some years ago an English military officer and a Belgium official had consulted together as to what steps England should take in case Germany invaded Belgium. After Germany had done the very thing which England and Belgium had feared, German propagandists tried to justify her by declaring that Belgium was considering means of preventing it. The use made of the documents actually affronted our intelligence and added to our distrust.

At that time we began to study deliberately the problem as to which nation was responsible for the war. It is now unnecessary to enter into the details of this question. None of the nations of Europe had been free, the world had not been free, from a species of intrusive, aggressive nationalism and from jealous rivalry in trade which made the maintenance of peace exceedingly difficult; colonial ambitions and dollar diplomacy had long daily threatened the peace of the world. This we knew; but even if no one nation was solely responsible for a condition which made the maintenance of peace difficult, we were compelled to conclude that the outbreak of hostilities was primarily chargeable to Germany; and, as we realized this, we became certain that America would hope for the defeat of the German armies. As we studied the situation it became plain that war was due either to a psychological explosion or to premeditated determination to gain territory and power by immediate action. The whole psychological condition of Germany was prepared for it; war and armies, engines of destruction, the jealous enmity ascribed to foreign nations, the loudly proclaimed perils of the Fatherland—those things kept constantly in men's minds for years—laid the train for the conflagration. That the Teutonic powers deliberately planned a war in 1914 is indicated by considerable evidence. Though to-day we may think this evidence not entirely final and conclusive, it doubtless had its effect on everybody acquainted with the history of the last decade. This at least appeared certain: the military authorities in Germany, directly and with amazing forethought, planned for a war which must come soon, and they were determined to win for the country a "place in the sun" and establish its power. If authorities are convinced that a war is inevitable and approve what they confidently believe will be its outcome, are they not likely to grasp the favorable moment for beginning hostilities?

It is sometimes said that Germany intended to dominate the world. We had great difficulty in believing in the existence of such fantastic ambitions, but we came slowly to see (1) that Germany believed in the superiority of German efficiency and of German culture, and thought they must be made triumphant; (2) that at least the ruling classes had a curious incapacity to understand that political control was not necessary to the extension of influence, to permeation of thought, and even to the development of trade; (3) that these persons were determined that the world should live in awe of Germany, and if rivals threatened to prosper they must be beaten into

becoming humility.[1] Although all this is probably below the truth it is so preposterous that we still have moments of doubt; and yet a person who has had unusual opportunities for knowing the situation, and has but recently returned, after some years of residence in Germany, tells us, "The Battle of the Marne not only saved the Allies—it saved Germany." That is the opinion even of a large part of the people of Germany. In the defeat at the Marne the hope of a world dominion was shattered. The lunacy of the war lords then in control was changed.

Still, as we began to realize all these things, we did not yet feel that it was our business to enter the conflict, not even when we came to see that America herself was in actual danger, certainly in actual and immediate danger if Germany was not defeated by the Allies. We were loath to credit what appears to be the truth, that, to attribute to the Kaiser the offensive words of Napoleon—America was within the scope of his policy. Possibly it was shameful in us to wait and to rely on the allied powers when we began to feel that this defeat imperiled our own safety. But something more than fear was needed to force us into the fight; not until the issues were clear to the nations of the world, not until there was hope for a constructive peace, not till we heard the call of humanity, were we prepared to fling in our power and resources.

Doubtless our final entrance into the conflict was brought about by cumulative irritation at German methods and policies. Our conviction of their unworthiness grew gradually day by day. This conviction was the result of experience of having actually lived through a great crisis. Among these irritations, which opened our eyes and hardened our hearts, none was more powerful than the machinations of the German spies. We were more than irritated, we were enlightened; we discovered what *Weltpolitik* and *Realpolitik* really were; German espionage in this country helped us to grasp the nature of a principle which is essentially criminal and which, if it continues, must make decent international relationships quite impossible. And so this fact began to stand out strongly: democracy cannot survive in an atmosphere of indecent intrigue; the government at Washington was forced to conclude that we cannot act in friendliness or co-operate with a government whose ways are devious, ungenerous, purely selfish and unreliable.

It is perhaps unnecessary to speak of Zeppelin raids, poisonous gases, and deportation of men and women from the occupied portions of France and Belgium, although we have no right to forget these facts; they are natural products, once more, of militaristic doctrine. We must remember that, if war means these horrors, all our efforts may well be directed against the prolongation of war and the success of militarism. Civilization is actually at stake unless something can be done to establish a decent working order among the nations of the world.[2]

About the beginning of 1915 Admiral Tirpitz was reported to have made a statement about the use of submarines for destroying merchantmen, and about the beginning of February an effort was made to establish a war zone about the British Isles. Almost exactly the same time England put food for Germany on the contraband list, her technical excuse being that Germany had taken government charge of all food in the empire and thus could use all of her food as a basis of war. The diplomatic controversy that arose over the questions of contraband and blockade and war zones cannot be entered upon here in any detail. It is apparent to my mind that Germany cannot excuse her attacks upon merchant vessels on the ground that she was merely retaliating against the British policy of starvation, though it is not unlikely that Britain would have attempted to use her fleet for that purpose even if Germany had not brought her submersibles into play—just as Germany starved Paris in 1870. And especially is retaliation not tolerable when it is exercised without any reference to the rights and lives of neutrals. If Great Britain broke the rules of international law or violently extended them for her purposes, there is a very marked "difference between a prize court and a torpedo." Moreover, the British despatches to this government attempting to justify her procedure are certainly able and rest in no small degree on our own acts during the Civil War.

Britain guarded and guided our trade even with neutral countries through which goods could be sent to Germany; but we could hardly be asked to do more than register complaint in the hope of reserving grounds for reparation or maintaining the technical rules of law. Did we have ground for claiming damages? Perhaps; but our trade prospered tremendously and increased greatly even with the neutral countries adjacent to Germany.[3]

With the sinking of the Lusitania, May, 1915,—a shameful and premeditated crime—President Wilson wrote sharply to the German government asserting that we should defend our rights upon the high seas.

[1] If any one disbelieves the understatement above, he ought to read "Hurrah and Hallelujah," a book largely made up of documents collected by a Dane, Professor J. P. Bang, of Copenhagen.

[2] Those that are still troubled about our entrance into the war should remember what was said by our commissioners who had been carrying on relief work in Belgium: "We wish to tell you," they said to President Wilson, "that there is no word in your historic statement that does not find a response in all our hearts. . . . Although we break with great regret our association with many German individuals, . . . there is no hope for democracy or liberalism unless the system which brought the world into this unfathomable misery can be stamped out once for all."

[3] While, in my judgment, Britain in some respects broke away from the restraints of international law or unduly extended precedents that appeared to justify her, the question is by no means an easy one, and I have heard an able international lawyer say that, if the subject were submitted to an impartial tribunal, he would be by no means certain of a decision in our behalf.

It seemed at that time our evident duty to maintain as much as possible of the shattered fabric of international law. Although some persons thought we ought to enter the war at once, the President was not at that time prepared to advise such action. He still clung to the belief or the hope that, by reiterated declaration of the fundamental principles of justice and humanity, Germany might be brought to a reasonable course of conduct and that some of the principles wrought out by past centuries might be preserved. What is the value of international law if it is to be cast to the winds when observance is inconvenient? After the Sussex affair in the summer of 1916 our relations with the German government were again greatly strained, but President Wilson succeeded in getting a promise that merchantmen should not be sunk without warning and without saving lives unless the vessel should resist or attempt escape. This promise was coupled with a condition that we should compel Great Britain to surrender what Berlin asserted to be an illegal blockade. Remembering, possibly, the net into which Napoleon enticed James Madison about 107 years ago, our government did not accept the condition, but warned Germany that her obligations were "individual not joint, absolute and not relative." We rested easier; but we now realize that this willingness to forego the sinking of peaceful vessels and the taking of lives can be accounted for by the fact that the old U-boats were being destroyed and the Teutonic powers did not then have in readiness the large and improved monsters of the deep with which to carry on the work of destruction. This work broke out with some violence late in 1916, and, with the announcement that no warning would be given when ships were sunk within a war zone, cutting off nearly the whole coast of Western Europe, President Wilson sent the German ambassador home and war seemed inevitable. One of the astounding revelations of the political methods of the German foreign office was the announcement made by the Chancellor to the Reichstag and the German people, that President Wilson had broken off diplomatic relations abruptly, although the step was taken eighteen months or more after the exchange of despatches on the Lusitania crime, and half a year after the exchange of notes about the Sussex.

So far we have given only a meagre outline of the story and told it ineffectively, for not even in many words can one sketch the growing uneasiness and distrust, the sense of despair, or the conflict between despair and hope. Was the world falling? Was civilization being wrecked in the whirlwind of barbaric passion? Had Germany already destroyed civilization by bringing the world to see that there could be no faith between nations, and that at any juncture, on the spurious plea of necessity, frightful wrong could be committed? If this war ended in German victory, a victory won by years of devoted preparation, a victory won by submarines and zeppelins and poisonous gases and deportation of men, women, and children to work in the fields and factories of the conquering country, what was before the world? German victory appeared to mean the success of ruthlessness, of conquest by military preparation; it meant the enthronement of might; and it meant that we must henceforward live in a world of struggle—we and our children after us.

Why did President Wilson, after long effort to maintain neutrality and even hasten the coming of peace, finally advocate war? Before attempting to answer this question, let us recall the President's efforts to bring the conflicting nations to a statement of their terms, and to hold out to the world the conception of the establishment of permanent peace. The President's message on this subject came out almost simultaneously with Germany's proposal in which she suggested peace on the basis of an assumed victory for her army. Such a peace the allied nations could not accept without accepting militarism, without losing the all important objects for which millions of men had already given their lives, and probably most of us here in America believe that such proposals were put forth chiefly to make the German people believe that the Allies were the aggressors and must bear the odium of further conflict. When the President called on the warring nations to state their terms of peace, possibly he still cherished the hope that, if terms were frankly stated, negotiations might actually be begun; almost certainly he desired such open statement as would show to the world at large the real essence of the conflict and also show that we were not ready to enter the struggle until we had made every possible effort to bring peace. The President's appeal produced no very tangible results, although the Allied Powers stated their desires and purposes with considerable definiteness, and these terms did not on the whole appear to us unreasonable or unworthy.

All through this time the President and all thinking Americans were interested chiefly in the maintenance of civilization, and they looked forward not merely to victory or to acquisition of territory by one or another nation, but to the foundation of a lasting peace by the establishment of principles of justice and reason. We found that we could not paint in too dark colors the future of the world if we are all to remain under the pall of fear and suspicion and under the overwhelming burden of armament; and thus we came to see that without America's entrance into this war there was little hope for relief from the crushing weight of war and the almost equally burdensome weight of ever-increasing armed preparation. Never, it appeared, in the long history of mankind, was there such a fearful alternative; never a louder call for duty. America, without hope of profit, with no mean or subterranean purpose, must herself fight to maintain the principles of civilization and for the hope of lasting peace and propriety between nations. This growing belief that we must fight for peace, only gradually conquered most of us; for we had long believed that American influence for peace was to come from remaining peaceful; and for this principle, we may still maintain, there is much to be said. The creative forces of the world, we may still remind ourselves, have sprung from character. America, by her

successes in popular government, by a reasonable amount of respect for herself, has helped to build up the democratic spirit and the democratic power from Peking to Petrograd and from London to Quebec and Melbourne.

This, I say, we believe. But several things showed us that this just idealism is for the present impracticable. (1) German philosophy scouts and flouts the notion that a state must not use its power to dash down opposition. (2) German success would mean the victory of *Machtpolitik*—a victory for the very forces which pacific idealism decries. (3) If we expected to bring into the world an appreciation of rights and duties, if we hoped for influence in the adjustment of world affairs, if we wished to see a world we could live in, it was necessary in time of trouble to do our part. The President had striven not only for our rights, but for the maintenance of law. Under much harsh criticism at home he went to the very limits of proposals; he offered his assistance; he announced that there was such a thing as being "too proud to fight;" he spoke of "peace without victory;" he hoped that the war could be settled in such a way that the nations after the war could live without hatred; he insisted that the world must be based on an organization, not for war, but for peace and good neighborhood. But strive or struggle as he might, it became daily more apparent that we should have little or nothing to say after the war, if we, unwilling to act now, called upon the nations to enter into a league of peace or summoned them to the establishment of a new world order. If we held back, contenting ourselves with verbal threats and feline coaxings, we should not have a single friend in the wide world unsuspicious of our motives.

Thus far I have said little about the actual attacks on American rights and property. It is not necessary to say much, though they reached into the intolerable. Nor do I wish to dwell on affronts to American honor, for I do not highly value the code of the duelist. We can well remember, even in international affairs, that no one but one's self can stain one's honor, and that no nation can smirch another nation's spirit. We were, as I have said, confronted by a world situation in which we must play a strong, manly and honorable part. We despaired of a world in which millions of people could be thrown into war; millions of young men could be buried in trenches on the battlefield or left to rot under the festering sun of France or Poland; millions of children could be beggared or stricken by disease, because an emperor and secret government had willed it so, or because nations could not learn the simple lessons of decent intercourse. What untold anguish might have been saved, had the impetuous, sword-proud William consented to discussion as Britain pleadingly asked him to do during the last days of July, 1914!

In his war message, April 2, President Wilson announced that the American people felt no hostility to the German people, but that we could deal no longer with an ambitious, autocratic government which cast a nation into war with no apparent hesitation and without discussing their wishes. We are told, even in these days, that there is no distinction between the people and the government of Germany and that to assert such dualism is to disregard the most evident fact. Certainly the great masses of the people have sacrificed their lives for the Fatherland, and yet one of the most whimsical products of this war is that some men here in America should be asserting the unqualified serenity of the political atmosphere of Berlin just when William announced that this war had taught him the faithfulness and reliability of the common people and that political changes must come, and when Hollweg told the junkers that their day of domination is nearing its end. William has been taught something by the war! Did he have to see a million Germans slaughtered, did he have to hear the cries of the widows and the fatherless, did he have to see blinded men learning their letters and crippled boys creeping along the streets of Berlin, before he could learn that the people could be trusted? Every incident in Germany in the last six weeks has demonstrated the weakness, not to say the criminality, of the imperial political regime. It now seems almost inevitable that if militarism is discredited by defeat, ministerial responsibility will be established in the empire, and William before long will be occupying that position of innocuous desuetude known as the kingship of a constitutional monarchy.

"Still," some person will say, "Germany is not what Russia was. To class Russia with its cruel, cheap, mercenary bureaucracy and Germany together as autocracies is to do violence to patent facts." I shall not seek to show how nearly the governmental system of the empire approaches in reality the autocratic type and how largely the responsibility for all imperial acts rests in the hands of the Prussian king and a body of irreconcilable aristocrats. Of this much could be said, but we can omit all discussion of the quasi-representative institutions of the empire. The trouble is deeper than mere forms of government; for the circle that shaped the policy of the state lived—this at least must be said—within a wall of psychological superiority and inculcated obedience as the great end of being. Every effort was made even to convince the German people of their exclusive and seclusive superiority, and William himself, a "king by the grace of God," was not able to see what a tragic, pathetic and humorous figure he made in the modern world of modern men. The whole psychological situation produced a dislocation of realities and a distortion of living truths.

The present war throws us into actual, if not formal alliance with Great Britain and France. We have, I think, no real or fancied interest in mere territorial readjustment which would add to the power of either of these nations, but we are justified in having confidence in the democracy of France and the liberal forces of Great Britain. Our sympathy for France ought to teach us a great lesson. It shows

us that republics are not ungrateful and that, after the lapse of one hundred and forty years, despite quarrels and disputes with the French government, we are still bound down by sentimental ties of gratitude to France. We have come to see the undying strength of friendship between the masses of men and are given new hope that democracies, if they are willing to think, cannot make war upon one another impetuously and in hatred. For England we still cherish, unfortunately, some of the old grievances that have been carried down, decade by decade, and taught through our school books to each succeeding generation. We have not been properly taught to see that our own revolution was an English revolution, in which Englishmen of this side of the ocean were striving for the development and maintenance of liberty, and that that war, too, was a war against an arrogant leaden-headed aristocracy. Misunderstanding of Britain comes from the failure to appreciate the development of liberalism in her government, until she stands forth to-day as a great representative of democracy and of belief in the power and will of the common people.

To lose sight of England's transformation, in which we have had a great part, is to lose sight of one of the most momentous developments of the last hundred years. Can we not forget crazy old George III and Lord North and the rest of his tribe, and remember the men of the middle century, the creators of modern British liberalism—Cobden, Bright and Gladstone, and a myriad of bold commoners—who battled successfully to destroy "the fortress of feudalism"? Can we not learn how deeply we are involved in the mighty structure of the British Empire as we find the lessons of our own Revolution and of our later history wrought into the policy of world-wide dominion? Can we not see that the greatest empire of all history has been built on the lessons of liberty which Britain learned from George Washington and Abraham Lincoln? Can we not see the tremendous force of democracy and individual liberty when we know that thousands upon thousands of colonials gave their lives ungrudgingly at Gallipoli and Ypres? Surely we must come to see that a democracy like France or a democratic empire like Great Britain runs our own risks, faces our own dangers, is subject to the faults and blunders which we know so well, and that we are not misled if the result of our efforts is to uphold a structure of imperial order based on the principles of justice, the strength of which has been so dramatically shown in the past three years. Sometimes one is asked ironically when, forsooth, England became the friend of America. The answer can be quickly given, and given with absolute historical accuracy. It was when the British Parliament in 1867 passed the second Reform Bill and England became a democracy—about two years and a half after the English aristocrats had fully seen their mistakes during our Civil War and had come to see that the greatest statesman the nineteenth century had as yet produced was not born in a manor house on an English countryside, but in a log-cabin in Kentucky. Likewise it can probably be safely said that France became our real friend, a nation with which we could work with open friendliness, when, with the downfall of Napoleon III, the republican institutions of France were finally and firmly established.

In the conduct of this war we must constantly remember that we have had hopes of rendering the world safe for democracy. With all our frailties, which we must openly confess, with all our wastefulness and with all our follies, this war has taught us, as nothing else could, that there is nothing upon which we can more safely rely than the plain sense of the plain people. Perhaps nothing shows this more conclusively than our reluctance and distaste for military conquest and our hesitation in making up our minds to fight. We may continually remember the words of Lord John Russell—and no one better than he had reason to know the truth: "All experience of human nature teaches us the fact, that men who possess a superiority, real or imaginary, over their fellow creatures, will abuse the advantages they enjoy." We must remember that we entered the war for peace, and we are offering a great sacrifice for a new world order. We believed that we could not get it by chiding Europe and refusing to do our part now, for Europe needed the assistance of an external power, disinterested and high-hearted. We may remember that we have covered a continent almost as large as the whole of Europe with self-governing commonwealths. We may remember the unselfish side of the Monroe Doctrine which we try to live up to as embodying a belief that nations may live their own lives; and with a mirthless smile we can call attention to Mexico, which we have allowed to wallow in revolutions and destroy American lives and property because we believe that only by trial can nations rise and that every nation is entitled to its own undisturbed revolution if there is hope for the struggling masses. And withal we must strive to save our own real selves, our own essential character; for what would it profit us if we fought the whole world and lost ourselves? We now know, if never before, that war is horrible and demoniacally ridiculous; that peaceful relations between nations have been endangered by intrigue, greed, false pride, covetousness and suspicion; that big armies do not make for peace, but beget arrogance; that human misconduct and discourtesy may make enemies, and that nothing is more vitiating than unmanly envy or fear of a prosperous neighbor; that democracy must be the basis of a sound political system, but it must be real, conscientious, intelligent, and open-minded, or we may plunge into cataclysmic anarchy. We may all take courage in remembering that the President of the United States has led us reluctantly and with unwilling feet into a war which we believe will help to establish democracy, humanity, and a sense of national duty without profit.

How Far Should the Teaching of History and Civics Be Used as a Means of Encouraging Patriotism?*

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What is patriotism? Love of country promptly comes the answer. But let us first of all note that love of country is a quality, virtue or passion which is common to all civilized peoples. Even the savage loves his haunts and will fight to defend them and his family. I witnessed a manifestation of patriotism in Germany at the opening of the present war that was at once both impressive and moving. It was a manifestation of loyalty and devotion to the Fatherland, that challenged the attention and the admiration of even those of us who were foreigners. While then patriotism is a quality that is common to all peoples, we must recognize that patriotism, if sincere and true, is exclusive; it knows no divided allegiance. It is a passion that leads to a desire to serve one's country. It manifests itself in various ways. It is a mistaken view that narrows patriotic service exclusively to the military and naval arms of the country. Civic services are frequently just as necessary and patriotic as military, and fortunately it is being recognized today, so that service in the shop, on the farm, in the mine and in other walks of life may be equally patriotic as that of a military character.

The need of a broad and comprehensive conception of patriotism is apparent. Webster's definition recognizes this, for he defines it as "Love and devotion to one's country, the spirit that, originating in love of country, prompts to obedience to its laws, to the support and defense of its existence, rights and institutions, and to the promotion of its welfare."

Lecky truly says, "All civic virtues, all the heroism and self-sacrifice of patriotism spring ultimately from the habit men acquire of regarding their country as a great organic whole, identifying themselves with its fortunes in the past, as in the present and looking forward anxiously to its future destinies."

It is clear, therefore, that the source and mainspring of patriotism lie in cultivating the sentiment and feeling of nationality. Hence to the end that an enlightened patriotism shall be widespread, it is necessary that the people generally and in particular the youth of the land should be so taught that they should acquire both a sense of the unity of the country and a feeling of pride and admiration for its traditions, ideals and achievements. One must be proud of his country's history and devoted to its ideals and institutions, if he is loyally to respond when called upon to maintain and defend them.

The danger of fostering an exaggerated and unwholesome idea of nationalism must be recognized and guarded against. Germany, for example, has been developing for over forty years an extremely narrow, intolerant and militaristic form of patriotism, one of its fundamental tenets being that it was its right and duty "to extend by force if necessary, its particular brand of civilization to alien and therefore inferior peoples." Professor Morse Stephens, in his Presidential address before the American Historical Association in 1914,[1] from which these words are quoted, pointed out the fact that the great fundamental doctrine that characterizes the nineteenth century and its historical writings and teachings has been the belief in nationality and that so fervently was this belief held and promulgated that it has led to enmity between nations; that the historians and teachers of the nineteenth century had "their share in creating and maintaining the national fanaticism of the present," and that they "must bear their share of the responsibility of setting the nations of the world against each other." "National patriotism," he continues, "became the national creed. It filtered through the entire educational system of modern states. . . . However excellent patriotism may be in itself, it has had some startling effects when based upon nationalist histories. . . . Belief in the brotherhood of man has had no chance." Certainly a narrow, prejudiced, anti-foreign or sectional presentation of history should be avoided.

Great as has been the change in our history text books, there is still room for improvement. "The spread eagle" histories of the United States of the last generation, with their "brag and bluster," have largely been supplanted. No longer, I trust, are the American youths taught that an American army can give the enemy every advantage of training, equipment and strategy and still defeat him with ease. But some there are who are still living in the spirit of another age, who think that the day of "the minute men" has not passed, and that an adequate and efficient force of fighting men can be raised over night, as in the Revolution. An honest presentation of our military history is much to be desired. We want text books that are not afraid to face the actual facts and tell the truth; that shall cease to gloss over defeats or defects in our military campaign, as for example the failure of the militia in the War of 1812 and the inadequacy of the volunteer system in all our wars. Some texts have aided in the perpetuation of old errors and in fostering a feeling of false security in an inefficient and antiquated system. Fortunately, the influence of General Wood, General F. L. Huidekoper, author of "The Military Unpreparedness of the United States" and others has made itself felt in the recent legislation at Washington for the selective draft.

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[1] "American Historical Review," XXI, 225-238 in passim.

We also want text books that shall be free from foreign or sectional prejudice. Professor Morse Stephens, in the address from which I have quoted already, states that "Americans are taught from childhood to hate Britishers by the study of American history and not only the descendants of the men who made the Revolution, but every newly arrived immigrant child imbibes the hatred of Great Britain of to-day from the patriotic ceremonies of the public schools." An alumnus in a recent number of the University of Pennsylvania Alumni Register,[2] declares that "It is most unfortunate that our first glimpse of patriotism as little children is through the pages of absurd school histories. Nor is the misfortune diminished by the failure of the average teacher to interpret an unintelligent flag worship into an inspiration of vital moral significance. So our early environment creates for us an imaginary world of bloodthirsty enemies and in our souls an antipathy to foreigners, which leads us to apply to them such appellations as 'dagoes,' 'sheenies,' 'chinks,' or the infinity of contempt involved in 'Dutch.'"

The fault is not alone with the text book. The teacher of history too frequently is unenlightened and continues to present, for example, the history of the American Revolution from a provincial and partisan viewpoint. In spite of popular prejudice to the contrary, it is high time that we should cease to implant a spirit of hatred of England, which is sufficiently fostered in this country by various anti-British organizations. Let us teach that the American patriots in fighting for what they regarded as their inalienable rights were fighting for the rights of mankind in general. Lincoln gave expression to this thought in the speech which he delivered at Independence Hall on Washington's Birthday, 1861, when he called attention to the significant point that the Declaration of Independence proclaimed "liberty not alone to the people of this country but hope to all the world throughout all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance." Modern Englishmen, indeed, have recognized that in fighting for their liberties Americans were fighting for the liberties of England and the world. Tennyson expresses this thought in his poem on England and America:—

> "Strong Mother of a Lion-line,
> Be proud of these strong sons of thine
> Who wrenched their rights from thee."

Sectional history that still flourishes in this country should be superseded as it is a means of perpetuating old animosities and divisions among a people that should be united in mutual sympathy, regard and admiration. Yet more than half a century after the close of the civil war, many of the large publishers of text books on American history find it necessary to have different series of texts for the North and the South. Let us hope that the day will soon come when this will no longer be true, and we shall be one people united by sentiment as well as by political geography and the constitution.

Passing from these general considerations, let us consider the practical phase of the topic, namely, what share shall the school system have in the making and training of citizens? At the outset we should recognize that in many cases the schools must do the entire work, owing to the absence of proper home and other influences and agencies. They must lay the foundations for an intelligent patriotism and an enlightened public opinion. The whole educational system, therefore, should be designed to the great end of making good citizens, but it is the especial province of the teachers of history and civics to train for citizenship. Everything that promotes good citizenship will contribute to patriotism, as the one comprehends the other.

Mr. Frederick Winsor, a Concord (Mass.) Headmaster, presented a very suggestive paper at the Congress of Constructive Patriotism held in Washington last January, to which I am indebted for some of the points I shall present. Mr. Winsor truly stated that "the most important obligation implied by citizenship in a democracy is service; service of the country in time of peace by an active participation in the political life of the community, state and nation; service in time of war, either as part of the armed forces or as part of the still larger organization of agriculture and industry which support the armed forces.[3] The first duty of patriotic education is to teach this lesson that the citizen has duties as well as rights, and that the most important duty is service to others, to the family, the community, the State and the Nation. The efforts should be directed to create a sense of obligation to others and greatest of all to God and Country. The chief aim of our schools and colleges should be directed to prepare the youth for citizenship, so that they shall be ready and eager to fulfill all the duties which citizenship implies. They should be inspired by the principles of unselfish patriotism, so that their attitude should not be that so frequently found in some adults, whose inquiry is, "What can my country do for me," not "What can I do for my country."

Training in the history and the traditions of the country is particularly important in our public schools, owing to the large number of children of foreign birth or parentage in our cities, as in many instances, in the very nature of the case, that is the only opportunity for them to obtain the same. And there are many striking examples of the manner in which they respond to this influence, and frequently they show a much greater enthusiasm and loyalty than some of the native born, who have inherited all their advantages and who frequently fail to value them because everything has come to them without that sacrifice and labor that it has cost the immigrant and his children.

For a constructive program to this end, I can suggest in its main features nothing better than the curriculum and method that is being followed in some

[2] April, 1917, 502-503.

[3] "Proceedings of the Congress of Constructive Patriotism," Washington, D. C., January 25-27, 1917, 248.

of our public schools, for example in Philadelphia, in history and particularly the new course in community civics. In history the program lays emphasis on biography in the lower grades. There is ample material in American history for teaching patriotism through the examples of men and women who have served their country in both times of war and of peace—by devoting their energy, talents, time, fortune, and even life to the unselfish service of their fellow men. Such pictures and tales of heroism and faithful service will make an ineffaceable impression on the young pupil's mind and will awaken a desire to render similar service when the opportunity offers. Indeed, biography is so valuable in stimulating patriotism that I would constantly make provision for it as well in the higher grades of the school.

In the narrative history that comes in the higher grades, the teaching of history should be permeated with the patriotic spirit. Emphasis should be placed on our wonderful heritage, the result of long centuries of stress and struggle. In American history, opportunity is especially afforded to trace the growth of the movement for political independence, national unity and democracy. The teacher can point out that American citizenship at the time the Constitution was adopted did not comprehend what it does to-day. That although the Declaration of Independence declared that "all men are created equal and have been endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," these principles were far from being carried out in actual practice. It was only gradually, after long struggles and strenuous opposition, that one by one they were fully secured. Thus religious toleration, the extension of the suffrage, free public education itself, the establishment of freedom for all, the achievement of democracy and national unity, one by one were realized, and are now the common heritage of all citizens.

Such a presentation of the subject should be designed to emphasize the value of citizenship, and the importance and duty that these democratic institutions should be preserved and strengthened. Whenever possible, pilgrimages to historic sites should be made. We here in the east are particularly fortunate in this respect. Let us make more of our opportunities to vitalize and make real to our pupils past events by visits to historic places.

The teaching of the history of Europe is also important not only for itself but also to broaden their horizon, afford a basis for comparison and an antidote to a narrow and provincial spirit, to enlarge their sympathies and to give them an interest in mankind that they may realize that above "all nations is humanity," thus implanting the great truth which lies at the foundation of modern society, that of the community of nations.

"For mankind are one in spirit, and one instinct bears along,
Round the earth's electric circle the swift flash of right or wrong.
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet humanity's vast frame
Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or shame
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim."

The recognition of this interdependence breeds a sense of common interests and of the brotherhood of man and is a corrective to the blatant and jingoistic type of nationalism.

Possibly greater opportunity for training in good citizenship and hence true patriotism is afforded through the proper teaching of civics, or as it is now called "Community Civics." The new program of civic training which recently has been inaugurated in the public schools of Philadelphia, as described in the new syllabus and as presented in Dr. Barnard's article in the "Annals," appears to me so admirable that I would commend its general acceptance.[4] This program has three notable features; *first*, it begins the study in the lowest grades and continues it throughout the eight years of the elementary school, as well as in at least one year of the high school. *Secondly*, one of its unique and most commendable features is its adaptation of the French system of formal instruction in morals, by introducing in the early years instruction in the fundamental civic virtues, such as obedience, helpfulness, courtesy, punctuality and the like, in all of which as is generally recognized the average American child is sadly deficient. This instruction is premised on the idea that "underlying good citizenship is good morality," and that "the practice of the civic virtues is the basis for all acts of good citizens," example being taken from the social group with which the child is familiar, the family, the school, the local community and the various individuals that serve it. Here the *third* feature of the course is met with. "From this point on," as the syllabus states, "a dominant note of the course is service. A most important element of good citizenship is faithful, willing, efficient service."

Next the governmental side of civic instruction is followed in the higher grades with a study of the various public and private agencies of community welfare, supplemented by trips to see some of these agencies and governmental departments at work. The two objects to be kept in mind throughout this course, the syllabus states, are "first, the development of ideals of good citizenship; and, secondly, training in such habits of right social conduct as will make the individual a desirable member of the various communities to which he belongs." In such a course the opportunity is afforded of inculcating ideals of justice, liberty, and those other moral virtues that make for good citizenship, and to make it evident that patriotism is synonymous with good citizenship. If instruction of this character becomes general, may we not hope in the future for a great quickening in the interest of the citizen in civic affairs of the community,

[4] Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1916.

state and nation which will make for a higher type of patriotism, and which will give an impetus to civic righteousness throughout the land? Let us bear in mind, as some one has said, that "patriotism is not an end but a means to the end which is universal righteousness."

The very instinct of self-preservation should lead us as a people to awaken to the importance, aye, the absolute necessity of preparation for good citizenship. Further, our duty to mankind imperiously demands it. Freedom and democracy are on trial before the world. It is our task as well as our privilege to demonstrate the permanent success of a Democratic Republic. If the effort here to maintain popular government fails, it may be that the failure will be final and irretrievable.

Professor Arlo Bates has expressed this thought in his matchless poem "America." [5]

"Here has the battle its last vantage ground;
Here all is won, or here must all be lost,
Here freedom's trumpets one last rally sound;
Here to the breeze its blood-stained flag is tossed.
America, last hope of man and truth,
Thy name must through all coming ages be
The badge unspeakable of shame and ruth,
Or glorious pledge that man through truth is free.
This is thy destiny! the choice is thine
To lead all nations and outshine them all;
But if thou failest, deeper shame is thine,
And none shall spare to mock thee in thy fall."

In what respect should the war influence the teaching of patriotism? Those of you who have read Dr. McKinley's paper on the effect of the war on teaching in European countries [6] are familiar with the fact that it has affected not only the teaching of history, but nearly all subjects in the curriculum, and doubtless if the war continues for some time, it will have a somewhat similar effect here. In England an editorial in the "New Statesman" objected to using the war to teach patriotism. It said in part, "To love it [one's country] is as natural as to be happy. To serve it as natural—and as difficult—as to be honest or gentle or agreeable and virtuous. But to schoolmaster small boys and girls into this love and service is almost as superfluous as to hector them into loving a perfect mother, or to lecture them into a taste for honey or wild strawberries."

But an opposite point of view has been gradually growing in favor there. A number of prominent statesmen and men of letters have written articles calling attention to the importance of England's taking proper steps to train the children of the masses in the duties of patriotism and in the lessons of the war. An interesting volume by Stephen Paget entitled, "Essays for Boys and Girls: A First Guide towards the Study of the War," [7] which has recently reached this country shows what is being done in this direction.[8]

I am fully persuaded that it is the duty of the teacher of history and civics to seize the wonderful opportunity afforded by the war to aid in promoting an intelligent and patriotic public opinion in support of the government in these critical times. Let the teachers explain to the pupils why we are at war, and what they can do to help. Call attention to the reasons presented by the President in his notable message—and emphasize "our objects" in the war which have been stated so clearly by him, quoting those remarkable and eloquent passages in which he presents our aims and ideals. Let them quote and explain such declarations as these, "It is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world against selfish and autocratic power;" and again those significant phrases when he declares, "The world must be made safe for democracy;" and "Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty." Thus we can point out that the issue is one between democracy and autocracy, between the rule of the people and the rule of the autocrat, that it is liberty arrayed against absolutism and reaction; that the United States is championing "the rights and liberties of small nations," the rights of self-government, and is fighting "to establish the peace and safety of all nations and make the world itself at last free."

Let the teacher also call attention to the fact that we have no selfish ends to serve, for the President disclaims all desire for the spoils of war when he proclaimed, "We desire no conquests, no dominions, no indemnity for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make." "To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have." We should call attention to the fact that for "the first time in history a nation has gone to war for a purely ideal end." We should point out that instead of accepting "Peace at any price," we have substituted "Righteousness at any cost," as Dr. Manning has happily phrased it.

Indeed, as it has been so truly said by Dr. Kirchway, "We have entered upon the war with the loftiest ideals that ever inspired a nation in arms." God grant that we remain true to them! Let us, as teachers responding to the call of liberty and humanity, devote our talents to the service of a cause so noble and unselfish as the one in which we are now embarked. May the same spirit of loyalty to country and devotion to those high ideals for which our forefathers sacrificed, fought and died, namely, liberty, righteousness and justice, inspire us.

But while we are striving for justice and democracy abroad, let us see to it that we conserve and strengthen both at home. The true patriot should be on guard against the dangers that threaten our land and its institutions. How are these endangered? Not only

[5] E. C. Stedman, "An American Anthology," 533.

[6] HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE, VIII, pp. 143-147 (May, 1917).

[7] Macmillan Company, London, 1915.

[8] See page 181 of this issue of the MAGAZINE.

from the recognized enemy from without, but also from those insidious foes from within. We cannot close our eyes to some of the evils that threaten the land, such as abuses in public office, the presence of brazen-faced wrong in the marts of trade, the worship of the almighty dollar instead of the Almighty Ruler of the universe, the friction and increasing antagonism between capital and labor, the disregard for law, the danger which threatens family life, the growing lack of democracy in our social life, "our unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance," the problem of Americanizing the hundreds of thousands of immigrants that have entered our ports. In the settling of these and other questions, ample opportunity will be presented for the exercise of true patriotism. Fidelity to civic duty will ofttimes demand as great courage, self-sacrifice, zeal and loyal devotion as that exhibited by the heroes of past wars or the present conflict. Never was the battlefield of government for the people more deeply in need of loyal soldiers than to-day and never were the opportunities for glorious achievement brighter than in the present hour. Let each of us as patriots remain true to the highest ideals and play our part like true men and women, for it is such that constitute the real strength of the State. This thought is expressed in the lines of Sir William Jones, the famous English scholar and poet of more than a century ago.

"What constitutes a State?
Not high raised battlement or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Nor cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;
Nor bays and broad armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Nor starred and spangled courts,
Where low browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No;—men, high-minded men,
. . . . . .
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain;
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant, while they rend their chain:
These constitute a State."

The Passing of Splendid Isolation[1]

BY ARTHUR P. SCOTT, PH.D., UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

The phrase "splendid isolation" was used to describe the position of Great Britain in international affairs during the last half of the nineteenth century; but it so exactly describes the conscious national policy of the United States for the first century of our independence that one feels justified in borrowing it.

When President Wilson declared (in his Cincinnati speech of Oct. 26, 1916) that "This is the last war . . . that involves the world that the United States can keep out of," most of those who had studied the sweep of world affairs during the last generation agreed with him. But our actual entrance into this present war has come to many as something of a surprise. We are asking ourselves why this has come about. Is it the fault of blundering diplomacy, or of military unpreparedness which caused our warnings to be despised, or of an unreasonable insistence on rights of travel on the high seas which we might better have yielded, under protest, as we acquiesced in the British blockade? Or is it the result of great forces largely beyond our control? I believe that, in the main the latter is a truer explanation.

In any large perspective of history, the development of the United States constitutes only one chapter in the great movement we call the Expansion of Europe. That movement, which began on a large scale with the discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, has resulted in the transplanting of European populations to every temperate quarter of the globe, of an even wider extension of European political control, and of a still greater diffusion of European ideas, ideals, and institutions. Three fifths of the land surface of the globe is now under the flag of European nations, or of nations of European stock; and those peoples who remain independent, such as China, Japan, Persia, and Turkey, have been more or less deeply affected by European culture, and are directly and vitally concerned with the course of events in Europe. In such a situation, a distinction between the affairs of Europe and the concerns of mankind becomes increasingly difficult to maintain.

The independent nations of North and South America, including the United States, owe their discovery, colonization, and early development to Europe. In language, institutions and fundamental ideas they are still European. We ourselves were colonies of England for a longer period than we have been independent. During that colonial period, our forefathers knew what it was to be directly involved in the affairs of Europe. Four times between 1689 and 1763 they were dragged into hostilities because England was at war on the continent. It is true that England's participation was in large part due to her world-wide colonial and commercial rivalry with France. It is also true that the colonists were directly interested in the struggle with the French for the possession of the Mississippi valley. But after England with their help, had finally driven France from North America, the colonists lost interest in European quarrels. During the Revolutionary War we were, of course, glad of help from France, Spain and Hollond; but once we became independent, we drew a deep breath of relief, and resolved to keep as free as possible from the internal affairs of Europe. We knew by long experience what it meant to be involved in

[1] A public lecture delivered at the University of Chicago, April 27, 1917.

European disputes about which we knew little and cared less, and we wished to have nothing more to do with the dynastic struggles and court intrigues of the Old World. Still further, we distrusted European interference in the New World. Jefferson, looking back over our early history, summed the whole matter up when he said in 1823, "Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle in cis-Atlantic affairs."

Our position during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic struggles was a difficult one, suggesting interesting parallels with the last three years. At home, pro-British and pro-French parties were berating Washington for remaining neutral. On the high seas, France and England were both interfering with what we regarded as our undoubted rights of trade and travel. In 1799 we engaged in a modified naval war with France. After that difficulty was in part arranged, we drifted on into the war of 1812 with Great Britain, a war primarily in defence of our rights as neutrals, and in vindication of our dignity as an independent state.

Meanwhile the colonies of Spain began to detach themselves from the control of the mother country, and to declare their independence, a process which the restored Spanish Bourbons could not arrest. In 1822 we recognized the independence of several of these colonies. Europe meantime was in the grip of reactionary forces, bitterly hostile to liberalism in all its forms. Austria, Prussia, Russia and later France with support at first from England, made a business of suppressing revolutions by force of arms wherever they appeared. In 1823 a liberal movement in Spain was crushed by French troops, acting as the agents of European reaction. Everyone expected that the next vindication of the principle of divine right would involve European aid to Spain in reconquering her rebellious colonies. England, already somewhat ashamed of her connection with earlier interventions, and (what was more to the point) greatly preferring an independent Spanish-America for commercial reasons, proposed to the United States a joint protest against intervention. On the insistence of John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, President Monroe chose instead to make a separate statement of American policy, declaring that any attempt on the part of the European powers to extend their "system" in the Western Hemisphere was dangerous to our peace and safety. At the same time we were apprehensive that Russia would extend her Alaskan settlements far to the south, and the President took the occasion to announce that "The American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by European powers." The difficulty with Russia was soon adjusted, and as a matter of fact all real danger of European intervention in Latin America had already passed, owing to the determined opposition of England. But our attitude had been made clear, and our national policy, long foreshadowed, had been clearly formulated. By 1825, then, the two cardinal principles of American policy had been settled. The first, our avoidance of entangling alliances or interference in European affairs, received its classic expression in Washington's Farewell Address. The second, opposition to European interference in the New World, became famous as the Monroe Doctrine.

It is obvious that underlying both these principles is the assumption that the two hemispheres constitute separate entities, capable of an existence largely independent of one another. The Atlantic has been regarded as a barrier, providentially setting us apart from the turmoils of Europe, in which we had been so long involved, and from which we so gladly became free. A century ago there was, however, another line of demarcation than that of geography, that of political institutions and ideals. The "political system" of the Old World, which was not to be extended here, stood for despotism, reaction, conservatism, divine right, for everything that we had fought against in the Revolution. When the colonies of Spain revolted and set up governments that were patterned after our own republic, we rejoiced at the triumph of those principles of freedom and self-government for which we ourselves stood. It was obviously to our interest that Europe should be kept from getting any firmer hold in North or South America. But mingled with concern for our own tranquillity was a generous and unselfish enthusiasm for republican institutions, and a glowing hope that the whole New World might become a great example of free government, where on a tremendous scale the inspiring ideals of the rights of man and the consent of the governed might be worked out to their fullest expression.

For three-quarters of a century after Monroe we managed to maintain our early principles. While we never attempted to conceal our sympathies with movements in Europe intended to promote the cause of human freedom, we did not actually intervene. The earlier phases of the French Revolution, and the struggles of Poles, Greeks and Hungarians for freedom were applauded; the efforts of Germans and Italians to secure unification and freedom from foreign influence in the main met our approval. On the other hand, massacres of Armenians in Turkey or of Jews in Russia or the extinction of local liberties in Finland were unpopular with us; but our approval or disapproval did not go beyond unofficial expression of opinions. We signed the Hague Conventions with the reservation that nothing was to require us to depart from our "traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling ourself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign state," or to relinquish our "traditional attitude toward purely American questions." In 1906 we took an important part in the Algeciras Conference to settle the affairs of Morocco; but we signed the agreement "without assuming obligation or responsibility for the enforcement thereof."

On the Western Continents, our policy developed along the general lines enunciated by Monroe. Since we have never regarded the Monroe Doctrine as

binding our own hands, we followed out our "manifest destiny," extending our original boundaries to the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific, by purchase, by conquest, and by negotiation. As to European influence, we have lapsed only occasionally from our original policy, as when by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty we admitted England to joint control of an Isthmian Canal. These lapses, however, were soon regretted and ultimately made good. In the main, Europe, though not giving formal assent to the Doctrine, has in practice recognized the limitations imposed by it. At the close of our Civil War, after a significant movement of troops to Texas, we warned the French to leave Mexico. In 1895 by a threat of war we induced England to arbitrate a boundary dispute with Venezuela. In 1902 Germany planned to occupy Venezuelan territory as a punitive measure, assuring us that it would only be "temporarily." Again arbitration was forced by President Roosevelt's quiet intimation to the Kaiser that our navy was ready to prevent such a move by force if necessary.

In the course of time the underlying principles of the Monroe Doctrine have been expanded to meet new circumstances. It is understood, for instance, that the principles originally framed to prevent European aggression apply to Asiatic powers as well. Rumors that Japan was trying to acquire a coaling station on the coast of Mexico led, in 1912, to a resolution by the Senate to the effect that no foreign power might acquire, directly or indirectly, any harbor of strategic importance. Other perplexing questions have been raised by developments in Latin-America. Some of our sister Republics, notably Argentine, Brazil and Chili, have developed until a protecting attitude on our part is no longer necessary or even welcome. It is not impossible that these powers some day may become joint guarantors with us of the policy "America for the Americans." On the other hand, disorder and financial irresponsibility in other States are constantly embroiling them, and therefore the United States, with European powers. We have denied that our policy requires us to protect South American States from merited punishment; but while we grudgingly admit the right of waging war on an American Republic, we insist that it shall not be fought on American soil, which is about as satisfactory to an exasperated European power as permission to hang one's clothes on a hickory limb without going near the water. This has been diplomatically pointed out to us, but we have not admitted that a refusal to allow Europe to intervene to protect European lives and property obligates us to step in and do so. Mexico is a case in point. By implication, however, and on a small scale we have assumed some responsibility. Cuba, Panama, San Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua are virtually protectorates of the United States, and the danger of their embroiling us with Europe is thereby minimized.

Meanwhile, during the decades in which we have been primarily occupied with our own affairs, great changes have been taking place in the world at large, changes which by the opening of the twentieth century placed the United States in a new situation with regard to world affairs, and demanded a re-examination and even a modification of our traditional policies. As we have seen, the whole New World owes its existence to, and in a large sense is a part of, the expansion of Europe. But the expansion of Europe did not end with the eighteenth century. On the contrary the nineteenth century saw a deepening and widening of the movement with results of incalculable importance for the future of the whole human race. Politically it saw England complete the conquest of India and Burma, occupy Australia, and New Zealand, and secure an enormous territory in various parts of Africa. It saw Russia expanding southward from Siberia on the Pacific coast and in Central Asia. France built up a new colonial empire of four million square miles in Africa, and Asia. Reunited Germany at a blow planted the German flag over a million square miles of African and far Eastern territory. Even Italy and Belgium became overlords of lands and peoples outside Europe. In all this we were largely unconcerned. But more widely even than European political control went the expansion of commerce, institutions, and the whole machinery of European life as it had been refashioned by the industrial revolution. China was opened to foreign trade, and in this movement we ourselves took part, though we seldom resorted to threats and force. The opening of Japan to western intercourse, however, was due directly to us. We were the ones who gave the Japanese the choice of opening their doors or having the doors blown off the hinges by Commodore Perry's fleet.

The nineteenth century saw a vast increase in manufactured goods seeking non-European markets, a greater demand for the products of the tropics, an out-flow of surplus European population seeking new homes, and an accumulation of European capital seeking opportunities for investment in the business of developing the enormous resources of Asia and Africa. At the same time railways and steamship lines, cable and telegraph lines, postal service and wireless stations all brought the different parts of the world constantly closer and closer together. The oceans ceased to be formidable barriers and became highways which connected nations instead of separating them. In this mighty movement the United States gradually came to take a larger and larger part. Although our merchant marine declined, our foreign commerce grew tremendously until along with Germany we became formidable rivals of England in the markets of the world. Our commercial travellers went forth to seek orders; our missionaries went to the ends of the earth to make converts; and our tourists scribbled their names on the world's greatest monuments, from the pyramids of Egypt to the great wall of China.

It was not until the time of the Spanish War that we began to realize the changes that had taken place in the world, or the extent to which we had become involved in the sweep of world movements. We went into the Spanish War over what seemed a nearby issue—the liberation of Cuba from oppression.

We emerged from the war a World Power, with colonial possessions across the Pacific. To many if not most Americans this transition from the Western to the Eastern Hemisphere was surprising and even unwelcome. The man on the street did not know whether a Filipino was a tropical fruit or a new five-cent cigar. As we look back, however, we can see that American interest in the Pacific Ocean and beyond was inevitable. The growth of our commerce and the knitting together of East and West by a thousand strands of increasingly intimate intercourse of all kinds meant that whether we liked it or not, we had to take an interest and a part in affairs beyond this hemisphere. Renouncing Imperialism and granting independence to the Filipinos would not materially alter the situation. We should continue to be morally responsible for protecting them, and besides, they constitute only one aspect of our interest in world affairs.

Not only have the geographic considerations of Monroe's day been modified by the development of rapid means of communication, but the political distinctions between the Western Hemisphere and the rest of the world have been largely obliterated. Many of the South American "Republics" turned out, in spite of nominally republican institutions, to be disorderly despotisms. On the other hand, England and France have become democracies, quite as liberal as ourselves, and the remaining countries of Europe are now more or less limited constitutional monarchies. This does not mean that we must abandon the Monroe Doctrine. Because we have acquired an interest in world affairs or because part of Europe has become liberal, it does not follow that we need allow the rest of the world to interfere unduly in western affairs. Nor are we less anxious than ever to keep out of purely European matters.

But what has all this to do with Germany and our part in the world war? It means that the United States is now a world power, in the sense that it has important and legitimate interests in every part of the world. It means that the nations of the world are so bound together that a war is no longer a local disaster but a world calamity. It means that the stopping of war is not the right and the duty of some nations but of *all* nations. Nations no longer live in sound-proof and water-tight compartments. Germany's contention that the quarrel between Austria and Servia was a purely local matter was a tragic absurdity.

Let me remind you that Washington never supposed that we could or should avoid all participation in European wars. We were not to be dragged in against our will by entangling alliances. But we were to be free, he said, to choose peace or war as our interest guided by justice, should counsel. Our interests, our sense of justice: surely we are not wrong in thinking that they required our choice of war. As a world power, whose peaceful development is bound up with international trade, we are inevitably interested in maintaining the hard-won principles of international law. As the greatest of democracies, we are vitally concerned in making the world safe for democracy.

We look forward to some sort of league to enforce peace after the present struggle. There is *now* a league to enforce peace, and its leading members have been England, France, and Russia. And what are they fighting for? What but the principles on which our own government is founded, the right of each people to a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed. The right of each nation to go its way in peace, without fearing the fate of Belgium and Serbia, or that of the passengers of the Lusitania. Where should we stand but shoulder to shoulder with those who are daily giving their lives that popular government shall not perish from the earth? And against us is what? Prussian militarism. John Hay, who knew German diplomacy at first hand, said it was "always brutal, but seldom silly;" and again, "Germany is acting badly—and cannot help bullying and swaggering. It is their nature. . ." Wherever we have crossed their path—in Samoa, in the Philippines in 1898, in the Venezuela matter, at Algeciras, Germany has bullied and swaggered. Hand in hand with Prussia are the German and Magyar groups of Austria-Hungary whose power is founded on the oppression of Slavic groups within their borders, dragging in their train misguided Bulgaria, and the unspeakable Turk, his hands reeking with the blood of half a million Armenians, butchered without a word of reproof from the War Lords of Berlin. What are we fighting for? Not to obliterate Germany: not to force democracy upon Germany—that would be resorting to Germany's own tactics. If the Germans want an autocracy, for *themselves*, let them have it. But we must demonstrate to Germany, by the only type of argument which seems to appeal to her, that she cannot and shall not impose her will and her "Kultur" on the rest of the world. I hope and believe that when the German people realize the tragic blunders of their leaders they will take the matter of reform into their own hands. Meantime, the one way to make Germany a tolerable member of the community of nations is to pound home the elementary lessons that the way of the transgressor is hard and that honesty is the best policy. This is a World War; we are a World Power; and we cannot honorably shirk the task of helping to forge a new World organization.

Abundant references have been made during the world war to the Holy Writ as supporting righteous war or teaching principles of peace. Shakespeare, too, is now being quoted on all sides, as instance the following from Henry V:

"For peace itself should not so dull a kingdom,
Though war nor no known quarrel were in question,
But that defences, musters, preparations,
Should be maintained, assembled and collected,
As were a war in expectation."

Brief List of Books Upon Recent European History

Prepared for the *Magazine* by Professor Charles D. Hazen, Columbia University

The following list of books makes, of course, no pretension to be a systematic or comprehensive bibliography of recent European history. It is merely a selection of a few titles made in the hope that they may be useful to some as an introduction to a subject which has become of immediate and deep concern to all Americans. It will henceforth be incumbent upon all who take their citizenship seriously to seek to be informed in regard to European problems and conditions. The importance of as extensive a knowledge of modern European history as possible for every citizen is obvious and needs no argument.

On the general background of the nineteenth century there are several works adapted to various needs:

Robinson, J. H., and Beard, C. A., "The Development of Modern Europe," Vol. II.

Hayes, Carlton J. H., "A Political and Social History of Modern Europe," Vol. II.

Hazen, Charles D., "Europe Since 1815."

Hazen, Charles D., "Modern European History."

Kirkpatrick, F. A., "Lectures on the History of the Nineteenth Century."

Rose, J. H., "The Development of European Nations, 1870-1914."

Fyffe, C. A., "History of Modern Europe."

The first four of these volumes contain bibliographical references opening up the general field quite extensively. Moreover such is the paucity of material in English on several of the smaller countries, like the Balkan States, that the accounts given in these books will probably be found to be the most serviceable.

ON GERMANY:

Henderson, E. F., "A Short History of Germany," latest edition, Vol. II.

Schevill, Ferdinand, "The Making of Modern Germany."

Marriott, J. A. R., and Robertson, C. G., "The Evolution of Prussia."

Priest, G. M., "Germany Since 1740."

Smith, Munro, "Bismarck and German History."

Headlam, J. W., "Bismarck."

Dawson, W. H., "Evolution of Modern Germany."

Fife, R. H., "The German Empire between Two Wars."

Tower, C., "Germany of To-day."

Schmitt, B., "England and Germany."

ON FRANCE:

Wright, C. H. C., "The History of the Third French Republic."

Fisher, H. A. L., "The Republican Tradition in Europe."

Atkinson, F. M., "Memoirs of M. Thiers."

Guérard, A. L., "French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century."

Brownell, W. C., "French Traits."

Wendell, B., "The France of To-day."

Tardieu, Andre, "France and the Alliances."

Bracq, J. C., "France Under the Republic"

George, W. L., "France in the Twentieth Century."

Barclay, T., "Thirty Years. Anglo-French Reminiscences (1876-1906)."

Marzials, P. B., "Life of Gambetta."

Lawton, Frederick, "The Third French Republic."

Anderson, F. M., "Constitutions and Documents."

ON GREAT BRITAIN:

Oman, C. M., "England in the Nineteenth Century."

Slater, G., "The Making of Modern England."

Marriott, J. A. R., "England Since Waterloo."

Bright, J. F., "History of England," Vols. IV and V.

Gretton, R. H., "A Modern History of the English People."

Lee, Sidney, "Queen Victoria; a Biography."

Moran, T. F., "The Theory and Practice of the English Government."

Hayes, Carlton J. H., "British Social Politics."

Dubois, L. P., "Contemporary Ireland."

Ashley, W. J., "British Dominions; their Present Commercial and Industrial Condition."

Pollard, A. F., "The British Empire; its Past, its Present and its Future."

ON RUSSIA:

Skrine, F. H., "Expansion of Russia."

Bariny, M., "The Russian People."

Kennan, George, "Siberia and the Exile System."

Milyoukov, Paul, "Russia and Its Crisis."

Pares, B., "Russia and Reform."

Vinogradoff, Paul, "Self-Government in Russia."

Wiener, L., "An Interpretation of the Russian People."

Wallace, D. M., "Russia."

Orris, "Brief History of Poland."

Phillips, W. A., "Poland."

ON ITALY:

Marriott, J. A. R., "Makers of Modern Italy."

Cesaresco, Evelyn M., "Cavour."

Holland, R. S., "Builders of United Italy."

King, Bolton, and Okey, Thomas, "Italy To-day."

Underwood, F. M., "United Italy."

Thayer, W. R., "Italica."

ON AUSTRIA-HUNGARY:

Steed, H. W., "The Hapsburg Monarchy."

Whitman, S., "The Realm of the Hapsburgs."

Rumbold, H., "Francis Joseph and His Times."

Mahaffy, R. P., "Francis Joseph I, His Life and Times."

Seton-Watson, R. W., "Corruption and Reform in Hungary."

Seton-Watson, R. W., "Racial Problems in Hungary."

Seton-Watson, R. W., "Southern Slav Questions and the Hapsburg Monarchy."

Seton-Watson, R. W., "The Future of Austria-Hungary."

Lowell, A. L., "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," Vol. II.

Colquhoun, A. R., "The Whirlpool of Europe."

ON BELGIUM:

Ensor, R. C. K., "Belgium." (Home University Library.)

Rowntree, B. S., "Land and Labor: Lessons from Belgium."

MacDonnell, J. De C., "Belgium: Her Kings, Kingdom and People."

Boalger, D. C., "Belgian Life in Town and Country."

ON THE BALKAN STATES:

Miller, William, "The Balkans: Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro."

Miller, William, "The Ottoman Empire, 1801-1913."

Forbes, Nevill, and others, "The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Roumania and Turkey."

Curtis, W. G., "The Turk and His Lost Provinces."

Schurman, J. G., "The Balkan Wars."

Seton-Watson, R. W., "The Southern Slav Question and the Hapsburg Monarchy."

ON THE CAUSES OF THE EUROPEAN WAR:

Gibbons, H. A., "The New Map of Europe."

Gibbons, H. A., "The New Map of Africa."

Seymour, Charles, "The Diplomatic Background of the War."

Schmitt, B., "England and Germany."

Beyens, "Germany Before the War."

Bullard, Arthur, "Diplomacy of the Great War."

Allen, G. H., "The Great War."

Rohrbach, Paul, "Germany's Isolation."

Gauss, Christian, "The German Emperor as Shown in His Public Utterances."

Bülow, "Imperial Germany."

Sarolea, Charles, "The Anglo-German Problem."

Chitwood, "The Immediate Causes of the Great War."

Rose, J. H., "The Origins of the War."

Seton-Watson, R. W., and others, "The War and Democracy." (Macmillan.)

Grant, A. J., and others, "International Relations." (Macmillan.)

Summer Reading on the War

A BRIEF LIST OF BOOKS PREPARED BY PROFESSOR GEORGE M. DUTCHER, WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY, MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

Only works in English have been listed.

No attempt has been made to include articles in periodicals, though it might be well to call attention to the numerous articles of outstanding merit in such magazines as the "Atlantic Monthly," the "World's Work," the "American Journal of International Law," the "International Journal of Ethics," the "Hibbert Journal," the "Yale Review," and the "New Republic."

Pamphlet literature has also been omitted, though mention might be made of such collections as the "Oxford Pamphlets," "International Conciliation," and the publications of the World's Peace Foundation.

Documentary publications have not been enumerated, but it may be noted that the "American Journal of International Law," "International Conciliation," and the publications of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace furnish in handy form the more important documents.

Narratives of the war, general and personal, have been omitted, though reference may be permitted to the "Current History," issued by the New York "Times," the London "Times' History of the War," and H. Belloc's "Elements of the Great War," two volumes, Hearst, 1915, and G. H. Allen's "Great War," three volumes, Barrie, 1915-16.

The Background of the War.

C. Seymour, "The Diplomatic Background of the War, 1870-1914." Yale University Press, 1916. Pp. xv, 311. $2.00.

H. A. Gibbons, "The New Map of Europe, 1911-1914, the Story of the Recent European Diplomatic Crises and Wars and of Europe's Present Catastrophe." Century, 1914. Pp. xi, 412. $2.00.

Y. Guyot, tr. by F. A. Holt, "The Causes and Consequences of the War." Brentano, 1916. Pp. xxxvi, 360. $3.00. (Excellent, comprehensive statement by great French economist.)

A. Bullard, "The Diplomacy of the Great War." Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xii, 344. $1.50. (Includes chapters on United States and Europe.)

The Diplomatic Rupture.

J. W. Headlam, "The History of Twelve Days, July 24 to August 4, 1914, being an Account of the Negotiations Preceding the Outbreak of the War Based on the Official Publications." Scribner, 1915. Pp. xxiv, 412. $3.00. (English.)

E. C. Stowell, "The Diplomacy of the War of 1914, the Beginnings of the War." Houghton, 1915. Pp. xvii, 728. $5.00. (American.)

J. M. Beck, "The Evidence in the Case in the Supreme Court of Civilization as to the Moral Responsibilities for the War." Putnam, 1914. Pp. 200. $1.00. (American lawyer.)

E. J. Dillon, "From the Triple to the Quadruple Alliance, Why Italy Went to War." Doran, 1915. Pp. xii, 242. $1.50. (By eminent English authority on international relations.)

Great Britain and the War.

B. E. Schmitt, "England and Germany, 1740-1914." Princeton University Press, 1916. Pp. 524. $2.00. (Topics historically viewed, anti-German.)

E. Hovelaque, "The Deeper Causes of the War." Dutton, 1916. Pp. 158. $1.25. (French view of Germany and its relations with England.)

F. S. Oliver, "Ordeal by Battle." Macmillan, 1915. Pp. li, 437. $1.50. (Contrasts German and British policies; chapters on democracy and national service.)

D. Lloyd George, "Through Terror to Triumph, Speeches and Pronouncements Since the Beginning of the War." Doran, 1915. Pp. xii, 187. $1.00.

Germany.

G. M. Priest, "Germany Since 1740." Ginn, 1914. Pp. xvi, 199. $1.25.

R. H. Fife, Jr., "The German Empire between Two Wars, a Study of the Political and Social Development of the Nation between 1871 and 1914." Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xiv, 400. $1.50. (Admirable, dispassionate account of problems and conditions.)

Prince von Bülow, tr. by M. A. Lewenz, "Imperial Germany." Dodd, 1914. Pp. 342. $3.00. Popular edition, $1.50. (Published by the former Chancellor on the Kaiser's twenty-fifth anniversary.)

A German, "I Accuse!" Doran, 1915. Pp. 445. (Social Democratic point of view.)

W. W. Whitelock (tr.), "Modern Germany in Relation to the Great War, by Various German Writers." Kennerley, 1916. Pp. 628. $2.00. (Translation of Deutschland und der Weltkrieg, by eminent German scholars and publicists.)

A. Hurd and H. Castle, "German Sea Power, Its Rise, Progress, and Economic Basis." Scribner, 1913. Pp. xv, 388. (Hurd has written numerous later articles on the subject.) $3.50.

F. Naumann, tr. by C. M. Meredith, "Central Europe." Knopf, 1917. Pp. xix, 354. $3.00. (Germany's political and economic aims in Central Europe expounded by well-known member of the Reichstag.)

Austria-Hungary and the Slavs.

R. W. Seton-Watson, "German, Slav and Magyar, a Study in the Origins of the Great War." London, Williams & Norgate, 1916. Pp. 198.

E. Ludwig, "Austria-Hungary and the War," with preface by Dr. Dumba. Ogilvie, 1915. Pp. 220. $1.00.

France.

C. H. C. Wright, "A History of the Third French Republic." Houghton, 1916. Pp. 206. $1.50.

J. C. Bracq, "The Provocation of France, Fifty Years of German Aggression." Oxford University Press, 1916. Pp. vii, 202. $1.25.

Russia.

G. Alexinsky, tr. by B. Miall, "Russia and the Great War." Scribner, 1915. Pp. 357. $3.00. (Social Democratic point of view.)

Africa.

H. A. Gibbons, "The New Map of Africa, 1900-1916, a History of European Colonial Expansion and Colonial Diplomacy." Century, 1916. Pp. xiv, 503. $2.00.

Far East.

S. K. Hornbeck, "Contemporary Politics in the Far East." Appleton, 1916. Pp. xii, 466. $3.00.

Policies of the United States.

A. C. Coolidge, "The United States as a World Power." Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 385.

A. B. Hart, "The Monroe Doctrine, an Interpretation." Little, Brown, 1916. Pp. xiv, 445. $1.75.

P. M. Brown, "International Realities." Scribner, 1917. Pp. xvi, 233. $1.40.

Norman Angell, "The World's Highway, Some Notes on America's Relation to Sea Power and Non-Military Sanctions for the Law of Nations." Doran, 1915. Pp. xvi, 361. $1.50.

Norman Angell, "America and the New World-State, a Plea for American Leadership in International Organization." Putnam, 1915. Pp. x, 305. $1.25.

S. Pérez Triana, "Some Aspects of the War." London, Unwin, 1915. Pp. 225. (An Argentine jurist on Latin-America, the United States and the War.)

The United States and the War.

T. Roosevelt, "America and the World War." Scribner, 1915. Pp. xv, 277. 75 cents.

H. Münsterberg, "The War and America." Appleton, 1914. Pp. 210. $1.00.

J. M. Beck, "The War and Humanity, a Further Discussion of the Ethics of the World War and the Attitude and Duty of the United States." Putnam, 1916. Pp. 322. $1.50.

"Sixty American Opinions on the War." London, Unwin, 1915. Pp. 165. (Collection of expressions by leading Americans.)

Nationality and Its Problems.

J. H. Rose, "Nationality in Modern History." Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xi, 202. $1.25.

A. J. Toynbee, "Nationality and the War." Dutton, 1915. Pp. xii, 522. $2.50. (Excellent study of several problems of nationality.)

R. W. Seton-Watson, and others, "The War and Democracy." Macmillan, 1915. Pp. xiv, 390. 80 cents. (One of the best discussions of problems of the war.)

S. Low, ed., "The Spirit of the Allied Nations, King's College Lectures in Imperial Studies." Macmillan, 1915. Pp. 214. $1.00. (Different lecturers for the several nations.)

J. McCabe, "The Soul of Europe, a Character Study of the Militant Nations." Dodd, 1915. Pp. 407. $3.00.

Results of the War, the Problems of Making Peace.

G. H. Blakeslee, ed., "The Problems and Lessons of the War." Clark University addresses, December 16, 17 and 18, 1915. Putnam, 1916. Pp. xlvi, 381. $2.00.

"Problems of Readjustment After the War." Appleton, 1915. Pp. 186. $1.00. (Articles by several leading American scholars.)

C. E. Fayle, "The Great Settlement." Duffield, 1915. Pp. xix, 309. $1.75. (Comprehensive survey.)

H. Münsterberg, "The Peace and America." Appleton, 1915. Pp. 276. $1.00. (Pro-German.)

H. Münsterberg, "To-morrow, Letters to a Friend in Germany." Appleton, 1916. Pp. 275. $1.00. (Pro-German.)

"Cosmos," "The Basis of a Durable Peace." Written at the invitation of the New York "Times." Scribner, 1917. Pp. ix, 144. 30 cents.

S. S. McClure, "Obstacles to Peace." Houghton, 1917. Pp. xiii, 487. $2.00.

THE TRAINING OF HISTORY TEACHERS.

The Committee on the Training of Secondary School Teachers of History of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland has performed a service for the profession by gathering together a number of recent articles, and issuing them in pamphlet form under the heading "The Teacher of History in the Secondary Schools." The pamphlet, copies of which can be obtained from Dr. Livingston Rowe Schuyler, City College of New York, presents first a study of the need for better trained history teachers and the salary inducements offered in different parts of the country. This is followed by a paper by Prof. Edgar Dawson on "The Preparation of the High School Teacher of History;" by reports upon "The Certification of High School Teachers of History," by committees of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association; a paper on "The Preparation of the High School History Teacher," by H. W. Edwards; and by brief descriptions of the methods pursued in preparing history teachers in the College of the City of New York, Teachers' College of Columbia University and Hunter College, New York City. The committee, under whose auspices the pamphlet was issued, is composed of Dr. William Fairley, Commercial High School, Brooklyn, chairman; Dr. Herman V. Ames, Dr. J. Montgomery Gambrill, Dr. D. C. Knowlton, Principal W. D. Lewis, Prof. W. S. Myers, Prof. J. M. Vincent, Mr. William Tappen, and Dr. E. W. Lyttle.

The National Board for Historical Service

BY JAMES T. SHOTWELL, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD.

As a result of a conference of history men which met, at the end of April, upon invitation of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, a National Board for Historical Service has been formed in Washington, with headquarters in the Woodward Building. The Board as at present constituted is composed of some nine members, who have been working during the past month upon problems which are of interest to all students and teachers of history. It is a voluntary and unofficial organization, formed in the hope that through it the store of competence and patriotic good-will possessed by those whose chief work is to study or teach history, instead of running in part to waste or even lying untouched, may eventually be drawn upon to meet the needs of the public or of the government.

A preliminary survey of the situation has already made it clear to this Board that the historians of the country have, in their own fields, a most important work to perform, a work of immediate urgency, which, if not taken up by them at once, will not likely be done at all.

In the first place, it practically depends upon them whether certain kinds of records and historical material dealing with the war shall be preserved or not. Unless they direct their attention upon securing the co-operation of their colleges and universities with libraries, local societies, and other possible agencies for the collection of historical and social data, especially for their own communities, there is grave danger that the essential elements in the vast and intricate social change induced by the war will not be registered for the purposes of history. In most cases little more is needed than the stimulation of definite suggestions to librarians or the officers of historical societies, but even under the most favorable local circumstances there is likely to be a real opportunity for the historian to co-operate in new and effective ways. The exact problems will differ in different localities, but in general there will be two main questions demanding a certain amount of specialized training for their solution: in the first place the scope of the material, the extent to which fugitive pieces, miscellaneous papers and more or less commonplace sources should be preserved; in the second place the question of classification by which this miscellany can be made available for current reference or future historical research.

The offer by teachers of history of such co-operation is not only a pressing duty in the interests of historical science, but one of the most important services which can be rendered to the nation. In a time like this historians are likely to feel that the issues with which they deal are too remote to justify them to engage upon work for which their specialized training has fitted them. But in taking the initiative in this distinctly historical task—one which will not generally be accomplished unless they *do* take the initiative—they can both render accessible for immediate reference data upon which sound public opinion should be based, and also they may be able to stimulate and maintain a more intelligent public interest in the war itself, through the very act of collecting the materials concerning it.

In addition to the work of collecting, preserving, and making accessible the records and source-material for the history of this country during the war, there is also a demand upon teachers and students of history to aid more directly in the determination of historical outlook by writing articles, pamphlets, or books on topics connected with the war. In this field as well as in that of library and archival work a new opportunity is presented for original production. There is need of special informatory articles for the popular press by those who have access to its columns and to some extent of comment on news-items. In general, however, this journalistic activity should not be regarded as the chief literary field of students of history, since unless they are already familiar with the particular requirements of popular journalism, they may find their work rendered somewhat ineffective in the medium. The may, however, very often seek the co-operation of editors and stimulate the journalists themselves to accomplish the desired result.

The chief magazines and reviews on the other hand will offer a field more suited to the historical student. There promises to be an opportunity for placing historical articles of a more serious sort and it is to be hoped that this opportunity will be embraced to the full. The same seems to be true, though to a less extent, of the book trade. There is a new demand upon the part of the reading public to which book publishers are eager to adjust their output and they are ready to receive suggestions, and when not able to put them into effect may at least furnish advice as to possible ways of so doing.

Upon the whole, it should be emphasized that in the opinion of the Board, historians can continue to serve the country best at this time, as in the past, *as historians*. The crisis has offered them new opportunities for this service; it calls from them a certain amount of initiative; it opens up the possibility of larger influence in the determination of opinions by an insistence upon the consideration of fact; and it places before all teachers of history the obligation to contribute to the educational adjustment now in progress in this country some stimulation toward a scientific spirit in dealing with social and political data.

National Board Calls for Co-operation of Teachers

The National Board for Historical Service has appointed four committees—on ancient history, medieval and modern history, English history, and American history—to prepare material to aid the history teachers of the country in adjusting their courses next year to the changed interests of their pupils and the new conditions which the war imposes upon us all.

To serve the time without yielding to it, to boldly confront new facts without losing our historical point of view, will require all our wisdom and all our talent. The Board earnestly hopes that the teachers of the country will give it their assistance. It requests that they send to it their own suggestions of how the war will and should affect history teaching; their observations of how it is affecting their pupils; and concrete illustrations of the attempts they may have made to meet the situation in their own classes. All such material will be handed by the Board to the appropriate committee.

Reports from The Historical Field

Number 14 of the Proceedings of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland has been distributed to members of the Association. The papers contained in the report are those presented at the fourteenth annual meeting held at Columbia University, New York City, April 28 and 29, 1916; and the joint meeting with the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, held in Baltimore, December 2, 1916. The general topics presented in the papers are "What Profits Result from the Study of History?" "A Fuller Recognition of Latin-America in History Teaching," "The Teaching of Current History, Civics and Economics." The report contains a full account of these two meetings, together with the officers and committees of the Association, and a full list of members, and it is to be noted that the list contains 285 members.

"The Mississippi Valley Historical Review" for April, 1917, contains the proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the year 1915-16. The number gives the Constitution of the Association; the officers for 1915-16, and the officers and committee for 1916-17. A description of the ninth annual meeting of the Association is furnished by Prof. Beverly W. Bond, Jr. Reports of the officers and committees are given, together with the principal papers presented at the April meeting of 1916, with the exception of such papers as have been printed in previous numbers of the "Mississippi Valley Historical Review" or in other publications.

A revised edition of "A Syllabus of United States History, 1492-1916," prepared by Professors H. C. Hockett and A. M. Schlesinger, of Ohio State University, has appeared. The syllabus contains nearly one hundred pages. The organization of topics and principal references are to Bassett's "Short History of the United States," but under each topic there are also references to other texts, to larger works on American history, and to material for topical readings.

The New England History Teachers' Association has issued a neat little pamphlet giving the principal facts concerning its organization. A sketch of the history of the Association is presented, the text of the by-laws is given, the membership of present committees and a full list of members of the Association.

At the meeting of the History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland, held at Philadelphia on Saturday, May 5, the following resolution was adopted: "Resolved, That the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland heartily endorses the plan of the National Board for Historical Service, and pledges its support to the Board in its work.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The following resolution was adopted at the meeting of the Association held in Chicago, April 26-28:

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association in session in Chicago at its tenth annual meeting, April 26, 1917, urges that means be taken by the government of the United States to facilitate the sound historical instruction of the people of the United States to the end that a correct public opinion with full knowledge of the facts that have made for our democracy and freedom in the past may stand stubbornly in our struggle for the maintenance of these principles in the future.

At the business meeting Professor St. George L. Sioussat was chosen president, and Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, of Lincoln, Neb., was chosen secretary-treasurer. The Executive Committee was instructed to consider the invitation from St. Paul to hold the next annual meeting of the Association at that place.

NATIONAL BOARD ORGANIZED.

Resolutions adopted at Washington, April 29, 1917, for the establishment of a National Board for Historical Service:

As an emergency measure, to serve until action by the American Historical Association, the undersigned, meeting in Washington upon invitation by the Carnegie Institution of Washington through its Department of Historical Research, have adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved:

I. That there be formed a National Board for Historical Service.

II. That the headquarters of the Board shall be in Washington, D. C.

III. That the purposes of the National Board for Historical Service shall be:

a. To facilitate the co-ordination and development of historical activities in the United States in such a way as to aid the Federal and the State governments through direct personal service or through affiliation with their various branches.

b. To aid in supplying the public with trustworthy information of historical or similar character through the various agencies of publication, through the preparation of reading-lists and bibliographies, through the collection of historical material, and through the giving of lectures and of systematic instruction, and in other ways.

c. To aid, encourage and organize State, regional and local committees, as well as special committees for the furtherance of the above ends, and to co-operate with other agencies and organizations, especially in the general field of social studies.

IV. That the Board shall be composed of at least nine members who shall select a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer from their own number, and that the said Board shall have power to add to its membership, to fill vacancies, to appoint advisory and associated members, to organize affiliated or subsidiary boards of committees, to receive and disburse moneys, and to perform such other acts as may be necessary for the accomplishment of the purposes herein stated.

V. That the Board, until further action by itself in conformity with these resolutions, shall be composed of the following:

Victor S. Clark, of Washington; Robert D. W. Connor, of Raleigh, N. C.; Carl Russell Fish, of Madison, Wis.; Charles D. Hazen, of New York City; Charles H. Hull, of Ithaca, N. Y.; Gaillard Hunt, of Washington; Waldo G. Leland, of Washington; James T. Shotwell, of New York City; Frederick J. Turner, of Cambridge, Mass.

Adopted at Washington, D. C., April 29, 1917.

Henry E. Bourne, Edmund C. Burnett, Victor S. Clark, George M. Dutcher, Guy S. Ford, Charles D. Hazen, Charles H. Hull, Gaillard Hunt, J. Franklin Jameson, H. Barrett Learned, Waldo G. Leland, Albert E. McKinley, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Thomas Walker Page, Frederic L. Paxson, James T. Shotwell, Frederick J. Turner.

MIDDLE STATES ASSOCIATION.

The fifteenth annual spring meeting of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland was held at Philadelphia on May 4 and 5. The program, as announced in the May number of the MAGAZINE, was carried out. There was a good attendance and much interest was shown in the topics presented. Professor Ames' paper on the teaching of patriotism is printed elsewhere in this number. The papers upon the character of the curriculum in history for vocational students presented by Dr. A. S. Beatman and Dr. J. Montgomery Gambrill, will appear in the HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE in the near future. A very pleasant reception and luncheon were furnished to the members of the Association by the authorities of Girard College. An opportunity was given to inspect the historic relics of the institution, to learn of the character of the foundation left by Stephen Girard, and to inspect the actual work of the institution in caring for 1,500 orphan boys. At the business meeting, the following officers were elected: President, Professor Marshall S. Brown, of New York University; vice-president, Miss Lida Lee Tall of Baltimore; secretary-treasurer, Professor Livingston Rowe Schuyler, of the College of the City of New York; additional members of the Council, Miss Lucy B. Hunter, of the National Cathedral School, Washington, D. C., and Mr. D. Montfort Melchior, of Girard College.

Herbert Adams Gibbons' "The Monroe Doctrine for the World" (May "Century") is a commentary on President Wilson's speech to the American Senate, January 22, 1917, of which the author not only approves himself, but of which he says men of the highest standing and authority in European countries think exactly as President Wilson thinks; "but with the single exception of Signor Giolitti, former premier of Italy, not a statesman who played a part in the diplomacy of the decade preceding the present war has the moral courage to approve President Wilson's conditions for a durable peace."

History in Summer Schools, 1917

(Items received too late for insertion in the May MAGAZINE)

BOSTON UNIVERSITY.

Boston, Mass., July 2 to August 11, 1917.

Professor F. M. Anderson, Dartmouth College; Professor S. L. Mims, Yale University; Professor A. H. Rice; Assistant Professor C. P. Huse.

Europe Since 1815. Professor Anderson.

The World War. Professor Anderson.

Colonial America with Special Reference to the American Revolution. Professor Mims.

Roman History: Teachers' Course. Professor Rice.

General Economics. Assistant Professor Huse.

Economic History of the United States. Assistant Professor Huse.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Additional courses not mentioned in the MAGAZINE for May.

Assistant Professor Rolla Milton Tryon; Assistant Professor Arthur William Dunn, Specialist in Civic Education, United States Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.; Miss Grace E. Storm.

Teaching of History in Primary Grades. Miss Storm.

Teaching of History in Intermediate Grades. Miss Storm.

Teaching of History in Grammar Grades and Junior High Schools. Mr. Tryon.

Teaching of High School History. Mr. Tryon.

Teaching of Community Civics. Mr. Dunn.

Teaching in the Social Sciences in High Schools. Mr. Dunn.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

Urbana, Ill., June 18 to August 10, 1917.

Professor Albert H. Lybyer; Professor Paul C. Phillips, University of Montana.

European History, 1648-1917. Professor Lybyer.

American History, 1606-1783. Professor Phillips.

The History of the United States Since the Reconstruction. Professor Phillips.

The Ottoman Empire and the Near East Since 1683. The Balkan and Near Eastern Problems Since 1908. Professor Lybyer.

Seminar in American History. Professor Phillips and others.

Seminar in European History. Professor Lybyer.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Baltimore, Md., June 26, to August 7, 1917.

(Revised Announcement.)

Professor E. J. Benton, Western Reserve University; Associate Professor H. V. Canter, University of Illinois; Dr. Arthur C. Millspaugh, Whitman College; Dr. Frank R. Blake.

American History, 1763-1795. Professor Benton.

American History Since 1783. Professor Benton.

European History from Charlemagne to the Eighteenth Century. Professor Benton.

Roman History. Associate Professor Canter.

International Relations. Dr. Millspaugh.

International Arbitration. Dr. Millspaugh.

History of the Ancient East. Dr. Blake.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

Oxford, O., June 11 to July 20, 1917.

Professor D. C. Shilling, Monmouth College; Mr. C. T. Murchison.

Modern Europe.
American History, 1492-1750.
American History, 1750-1800.
American Political History, 1800-1850.
American Political History, 1850-1917.
American Government.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI.

University, Miss.

Professor Milton S. Cushman; Professor H. G. McGowan; Mr. R. L. Bedwell; Miss Nellie Keirn.

History of Western Europe, 1500-1870. Professor Cushman.
History of Modern Europe, 1815-1914. Professor Cushman.
American History, 1828-1914. Professor Cushman.
History and Geography of South America. Miss Keirn.
United States History. For Teachers. Professor McGowan.
Mississippi History. Mr. Bedwell.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Chapel Hill, N. C., June 12 to July 27, 1917.

Professor Henry McGilbert Wagstaff; Professor Joseph Hamilton; Mr. Charles E. McIntosh, Superintendent of Schools, Hickory, N. C.; Mr. William W. Pierson.

The History of England. Mr. McIntosh.
The History of the United States. Mr. McIntosh.
The French Revolution. Mr. Pierson.
Modern Europe. Professor Wagstaff.
Modern International Relations. Professor Hamilton.
International Relations. Professor Hamilton.
The Middle Period. Mr. Pierson.
England During the Last One Hundred Years. Professor Wagstaff.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Assistant Professor Homer J. Webster.

Political History of the United States.
History of England. A study of the period from 1660 to the nineteenth century.
The Middle Period.
Proseminar in American or Pennsylvania History.

"Our Future Immigration Policy," by Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, New York (May "Scribner's"), urges a change in our policy—a more positive interest in the aliens after they land. He also calls attention to the change in the immigration problem which the war brings. The sketches illustrating the article by George Pavis (a French artist wounded at Verdun) on "The American Ambulance Hospital at Neuilly," in the same magazine, are also worthy of attention.

The Committee of Sixty (505 Fifth Avenue, New York City) is sending out literature urging the adoption of the prohibition of liquor traffic and sale during the war. The president of the committee is Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale University. Arguments upon the other side of the question are also being circulated by the brewers and liquor interest of the United States.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR WAYLAND J. CHASE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

SEYMOUR, CHARLES. The Diplomatic Background of the War, 1870-1914. New York: Yale University Press, 1916. Pp. xv, 311. $2.00, net.

In his preface the author notes that, while many analyses of the diplomatic crisis of 1914 have been made since then, far less attention "has been given to the origin of the factors leading to that crisis." Dr. Seymour starts with the war of 1870, and shows how Bismarck worked to keep the German hegemony of Europe which the German victories had gained. Then he traces the growth of the Dual Alliance, and points out that Germany nevertheless kept her control of continental diplomacy. Chapters IV and V deal with the growth of German world policy and its underlying causes. Then the author traces the changes of British foreign policy from rivalry with France and Russia to friendship with them, and the resulting diplomatic incidents of 1905, 1908, and 1911, marking German efforts to recover the lost diplomatic ascendancy. The Near Eastern question and the Balkan wars are explained, and the final crisis of 1914 elucidated clearly and without prejudice.

Dr. Seymour concludes that Germany and Austria-Hungary were playing for a great diplomatic victory that would restore their lost supremacy in the Balkans, that their leaders doubtless expected this could be won without war, that Austria weakened and showed willingness to negotiate further, when it became evident that Russia would not yield without a war, and that Germany then forced the issue by her ultimatum to Russia, and is therefore immediately responsible for the failure of negotiations to settle the disputes peaceably. This conclusion seems sane.

While it is not particularly original, the book brings the material together in very convenient form, and provides a useful survey of the field. It is readable and not too long for students and for the general reader. High school teachers and students will find it very useful for reference reading on the causes of the war.

CLARENCE PERKINS.

Ohio State University.

ELLIOT, HUGH. Herbert Spencer. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1917. Pp. 330. $2.00.

Herbert Spencer's life extending from 1820 to 1903 comprehended much of the nineteenth century, and of its philosophic thought he was the chief exponent. What he wrote in this field, for half a century held the attention of all thinking people, and his text-book on psychology was the most important of the century. These achievements he accomplished without any acquaintance with the works of his predecessors in these fields, and with but scanty knowledge concerning those of his contemporaries. He established the science of sociology in England, was a leader in all branches of the so-called moral sciences and led the chief controversies on evolution and biology. He wrote his volume on education before he was forty, never having had more than three months' experience in teaching, never having married or had more than the minimum of association with children, and having practically no knowledge of what had been previously written on the subject. Yet "more than any other single text-book, it is the foundation of all the so-called modern ideas in education." Besides the superlative value of his books, inestimable was the

service he rendered society through his insistent battling for liberty and for reason.

As the author says, the lives of men of thought, unlike those of men of action, are barren of incident, for they live in their writings rather than in their acts. Accordingly, nine of the thirteen chapters are devoted to description and appraising of his writings. Mr. Elliott has interestingly and convincingly shown Spencer's warrant to a place among the "Makers of the Nineteenth Century," and made a notable contribution to this series of biographies.

HAZEN, CHARLES DOWNER. The French Revolution and Napoleon. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1917. Pp. viii, 385. $2.50.

This volume is a reprint of a portion of Professor Hazen's volume on "Modern European History." The maps of the larger work have been retained, but the illustrations and reading references have been omitted. The book is printed in large type, on heavy paper, with a wide margin, and is attractively bound. It is a war product, being intended for those who, living in "an age like our own, caught in the grip of a world war, whose issues, however incalculable, will inevitably be profound," would benefit from the "instruction to be gained from the study of a similar crisis in the destinies of humanity a century ago." This "most dramatic and impressive chapter of modern history," as Professor Hazen describes it, is most attractively written and should appeal to the audience for which it was prepared. It is one of the best sketches of the period in English. The second part dealing with Napoleon seems to me better than the first part on the Revolution, but, then, Napoleon gives a unity to the second period that can hardly be created for the first even by the most skilful organization.

FRED MORROW FLING.

The University of Nebraska.

MOSES, BELLE. Paul Revere, the Torchbearer of the Revolution. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1916. Pp. 270. $1.35.

BARNES, JAMES. The Hero of Stony Point, Anthony Wayne. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1916. Pp. 210. $1.35.

These books belong to the same series, and are both calculated to hold the interest of boys and girls. They make no pretension of erudition, and merely recall the well-known facts of their heroes' lives, supplemented by such detail as the space allows. This is sufficient to make lively, interesting stories and to set forth enough of the activities of both heroes to show that they filled much larger places in Revolutionary history than can be learned from the regulation text-book statements about them. Every boy ought to know that Paul Revere engaged in other occupations than that of engraver, and that he took many other important rides besides the famous one. He should know also that Anthony Wayne served his country in other campaigns than the ones against Stony Point and the Western Indians.

The author of Paul Revere's life is too anxious to make him a hero upon every occasion. Consequently, the style is somewhat strained, and there are too many assumptions introduced by "we may conjecture," "probably," and "one may imagine," where accurate knowledge is lacking. Needless to say, all doubts are resolved in favor of Revere. One's faith in the author's ability to handle serious historical material is decidedly shaken by the following statement made (page 219) about the Federal Constitution: "Alexander Hamilton, Washington's former aide-de-camp and our first Secretary of State, drafted this Constitution which created great stir and mighty arguments."

In view of the extent and importance of Revere's product in engravings, one wonders that not more are reproduced in this volume.

The story of Anthony Wayne is told in a more natural and restrained style. This hero, unlike that of the companion volume, has some faults. The book brings out admirably the qualities and services of Wayne that make the sobriquet "Mad Anthony" inappropriate. It displays the seamy side of Revolutionary politics and gives details that show clearly the manner of warfare in those times.

ALBERT H. SANFORD.

State Normal School, La Crosse, Wis.

KREHBIEL, EDWARD. Nationalism, War and Society: A study of nationalism and its concomitant, war, in their relation to civilization and of the fundamentals and the progress of the opposition to war. With an introduction by Norman Angell. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916. Pp. xxxv, 276. $1.50.

The scope of this work is indicated by its titles. Its purpose is to give a handbook of information and philosophy to the student of the conflict between the conservatives, who believe that nothing can be which has not already been, and therefore have no hope that war may be eliminated from the world, on the one hand; and on the other, the liberals, who, finding that man has gradually in the last fifty thousand years risen higher and higher above the animals, believe that yet another step is possible, and that reason may replace brute force in all human relations. The work takes the form of a syllabus; but the sentences and paragraphs which are subjoined to the topics dispose the reader to wonder why the author did not write it into a book. The work is admirably done and the bibliographical references are ample and carefully selected. No student of the subject it treats can afford to be without it, and we are all to-day students of the subject.

EDGAR DAWSON.

Hunter College of the City of New York.

ROBINSON, C. E. The Days of Alkibiades. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1916. Pp. xxiv, 301. $1.50.

For secondary schools the Assistant Master of Winchester College has written a series of sketches of public and private Greek life at the close of the fifth century B. C. He had hoped—the preface tells us—"to reproduce, truly and with fair completeness, the habits of an Athenian gentleman, how he dressed, ate, and spent his day, how he talked and what he thought, the scenes he saw and the places he visited." This gentleman who was always in the thick of it is the freakish and fascinating Alkibiades.

With him we wander through Athens visiting an Attic farm, gymnasium and the market-place. We attend a dinner-party, a wedding, the theatre, the assembly, a jury trial, a funeral and the great festival of Athena. We are safe witnesses of a land and sea battle. Leaving the Piræus we go to Delphi, Eleusis, Olympia, Sparta, and finally to the Hellespont where Alkibiades ended his life.

Besides knowing the classic writers and the most recent works about them, the author has become, through travel, intimately familiar with the latest archæological discoveries, the geography and the life of modern Greece. He is also gifted with an imagination that turns out fresh, vivid pictures keeping the proofs of learning so far in the back-

ground that only scholars may detect them. Yet every detail is "documented." There are no marginal references, and only two footnotes, one on the theatre, and the one on the arrangement of oars in a trireme where a somewhat novel explanation is given.

The translation of Greek public life into terms of English public life may not always be a help to American pupils. There are some sixteen pictures to illustrate the text. The foreword by Professor C. W. Oman, though covering only four pages, is one of the assets of the book, and a notable one for the teacher.

VICTORIA A. ADAMS.

Calumet High School, Chicago.

CHAPMAN, CHARLES EDWARD. The Founding of Spanish California, the Northwestward Expansion of New Spain, 1687-1783. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916. Pp. xxxii, 485. $3.50.

The careful appreciation of Dr. Chapman's work, appearing in the January number of "The American Historical Review," renders unnecessary the critical appraisal which such an important volume would otherwise demand. We may limit our attention, therefore, to the aim of the work, the material upon which it is founded, and the method according to which the results are presented.

As Professor Henry Morse Stephens explains in the introduction (pp. xix-xxxii), this is an effort both to meet the local demand for researches in California history, and to make a contribution to the general history of civilization. It was owing to the interest evinced by Californians in the early history of the Pacific Coast that the Native Sons of the Golden West offered a subsidy of $3,000 a year for traveling fellowships, thus making possible the necessary research of Dr. Chapman among the archives of Spain. The historical collections of Hubert Howe Bancroft, now located at the University of California, are also the result of the same spirit. With such opportunities at hand, in a field comparatively little worked, there is no wonder that not only this present study but others along similar lines are making their appearance. That the study of this period of California history leads to a broader conception of its importance from the point of view of Spanish civilization hardly needs to be emphasized, especially after the appearance of "The Pacific Ocean in History; the Papers and Addresses Presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress."

The peculiar arrangement of the text is due to the desire to present the story *in extenso;* thus each chapter opens with a summary of from one to three pages in length explaining the nature of the contents of that chapter. Then comes the narrative minutely following the accounts of the documents. There are some excellent appendices and full bibliographical notes.

HENRY L. CANNON.

Stanford University.

"National Independence and Internationalism," by Bertrand Russell, a study of the matters in which the interests of nations are supposed to clash; "Japan and the United States," by K. K. Kawakami, a frank statement of the causes of the estrangement between Japan and the United States; "Nicaragua and the United States," by Cyrus F. Wicker, charge d'affaire at Nicaragua, rather a criticism of our policy toward the smaller republics, and Catherine Breshkovsky's "Letters from Siberia," make the May issue of the "Atlantic" of especial interest to historians.

Prepare for the School Year, 1917-1918

THE HISTORY TEACHER will have greater opportunity for service during the coming year than ever before in the life of our nation. Not only will there be abundant occasion for enlightenment upon the history of Europe and the principles of American government and institutions, but also there will be great need of trained historical minds to combat vague rumors, hasty generalizations and dangerous innovations.

The History Teacher's Magazine

will aim, during the War, to encourage all proper activities of history teachers. It will welcome suggestions as to how far the war should influence history teaching. It will co-operate with the National Board for Historical Service in presenting monthly a series of topics for each of the fields of secondary school history.

If you are interested in the War and in History Teaching, you cannot afford to be without "The History Teacher's Magazine" next year.

Periodical Literature

EDITED BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

The March number of the "National Geographic Magazine" has an article on Russia—"Russia's Democrats"—by Montgomery Schuyler, which gives a brief historical background of recent affairs. In the same issue is David Jayne Hill's "Republics—The Ladder to Liberty," while the unusually splendid illustrations of Spanish and Algerian scenes should not be overlooked.

"Why Alsace Lorraine Wants to be French," by Jules Bois in the May "Bookman," is an interesting study of the will and conscience of Alsace. The same magazine publishes a good brief account of the March revolution under the title of "Russia Resurgent," by Abraham Yarmolinsky, and the second installment—political considerations—of "The Revolution in Arabia," by Ameen Ribani.

Lacy Amy's new series on "England in Arms" begins in this month's issue of the "Canadian Magazine" with the article, "Women and the War," in which he says, "The amazing discovery of the war is the adaptability of woman to tasks never before attempted by her."

"The Rusisan Revolution," by Henry W. Nevinson, and "The Present Financial Position of Russia," by Professor J. Y. Simpson, which appear in the April "Contemporary Review," are among the best articles which have yet appeared on this subject. Neither author doubts the ultimate success of the Revolution, despite certain unfortunate aspects of the early days.

"The Middle Schools in Japan," by K. Sakamoto ("Educational Review" for May), gives a good idea of educational conditions in Japan and of their close connection with religious and State affairs.

J. A. R. Marriott, in his article on "English History in Shakespeare," discusses the background of Richard II, and gives abundant proof of the historical accuracy of this play.

"The Sufferings of Poland," by Countess de Turczynowicz (May "Forum"), is an account of her personal experiences during the early months of the war, and it closes with an appeal for help in reconstruction.

"The Development of Christian Institutions and Beliefs," by Alfred Fawkes, in the April number of the "Harvard Theological Review," gives a broad survey of the subject. The same magazine also publishes Preserved Smith's "English Opinions of Luther," a study of Shakespearean, Puritanic, eighteenth century and modern theologians' and laymen's attitude towards Luther, rather than towards the Reformation.

H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, writes on "French Nationalism" for the January number of "The Hibbert Journal," and attempts to find a religious spirit dominating the national effort.

Those who are interested in seeing our government through the eyes of our neighbors will be interested in Colonel Sir Thomas Holdish's article on "How the War Affects American Interests," and Sir Francis Piggott's "Sea Power, the Armed Neutrality and President Wilson," in the April "Nineteenth Century."

"Can Democracy be Efficient?" by Robert W. Bruère (May "Harper's"), asks the question, "In an age dominated by science and dependent upon the scientific method, are the democratic masses capable of intelligent self-direction, or must they, in self-defense, surrender the control of the government to the superior ability of the trained and exceptionally gifted few?" and answers it by saying, "No theoretical answer to the question as to whether democracy can be efficient, could have a value comparable to that which will be given by the outcome of the struggle which is subjecting democracy in England and the British Empire to the supreme test."

BOOKS ON HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES FROM MARCH 31 TO APRIL 28, 1917.

LISTED BY CHARLES H. COULOMB, PH.D.

American History.

Alvord, Clarence W., and Carter, Clarence E., editors. The new regime, 1765-1767. Springfield, Ill.: Ill. State Hist. Lib.

Benitez, Conrado, and Craig, Austin. The former Philippines through foreign eyes. N. Y.: Appleton. 552 pp. $3.00, net.

Bigelow, John. Breaches of Anglo-American treaties. N. Y.: Sturgis and Walton. 248 pp. (5 pp. bibls.). $1.50, net.

Borthwick, J. D. The gold hunters; a first hand picture of life in the California mining camps in the early fifties. N. Y.: Outing Pub. Co. 361 pp. $1.00.

Bushnell, C. C. Historical sketch of old Fair Haven. Syracuse, N. Y.: The author. 24 pp.

Cotterill, Robert S. History of pioneer Kentucky. Cincinnati: Johnson and Hardin. 254 pp. $2.00.

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